

PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

ENGLISH SERIES

No. IX

THE LIFE AND WORKS
OF
ARTHUR HALL OF GRANTHAM

Published by the University of Manchester at
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS (H. M. McKECHNIE, Secretary)
12 LIME GROVE, OXFORD ROAD, MANCHESTER

LONGMANS, GREEN & CO.

LONDON: 39 Paternoster Row

NEW YORK: 443-449 Fourth Avenue and Thirtieth Street

CHICAGO: Prairie Avenue and Twenty-fifth Street

BOMBAY: Hornby Road

CALCUTTA: 6 Old Court House Street

MADRAS: 167 Mount Road

~~JHQA~~
~~W~~

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF ARTHUR HALL OF GRANTHAM

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT, COURTIER
AND
FIRST TRANSLATOR OF HOMER INTO ENGLISH

BY
H. G. WRIGHT, M.A.

*Assistant Lecturer in English Literature and Language in the
University of Manchester*

MANCHESTER
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

12 LIME GROVE, OXFORD ROAD

LONGMANS, GREEN & CO.

LONDON, NEW YORK, BOMBAY, ETC.

1919

154614
61412

PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

No. CXXI

DA
358
H2W7

TO
PROFESSORS C. H. HERFORD AND W. J. SEDGEFIELD
AS A MARK OF ESTEEM
FROM AN
OLD STUDENT

PREFACE.

THE appearance of this book, begun in 1912, has been delayed by the many vicissitudes it has undergone. For upwards of a year the MS. lay at the American Embassy in Berlin, and even when it had reached the author again, the upheavals of the war were not conducive to its completion. It aims at giving a thorough account of one whose literary abilities and achievements were small, but who by his manysidedness brings us into contact with various aspects of the Elizabethan age, and therefore repays study.

The idea of such a study of Arthur Hall was first suggested to me by Professor O. L. Jiriczek, to whom I am greatly indebted, not only for this, but for many other kindnesses shown to me during the four years we were colleagues. From my friend Mr. L. L. Mackall I have received valuable assistance in matters bibliographical, whilst Dr. Ernest Classen has put me under an obligation by collating quotations from various rare works at the British Museum. To Mr. A. E. Prince for his help in deciphering certain of Hall's letters, when my work was in its early stages, I would also express my thanks. Miss Greta Linder and Miss B. Smythe rendered me great service by copying the translations of Hall and Salel at a time when these were inaccessible to me. I would also mention my indebtedness to Canon Carr Smith and Colonel Alfred Welby for information concerning the Hall family, as also to Mr. W. A. White for details of his copy of Hall's "Homer". My cordial acknowledgments are also due to Professor T. F. Tout for invaluable suggestions and much kind encouragement. Professor G. Unwin

generously placed at my disposal some of his unpublished notes on economic matters in the sixteenth century.

Sir Sidney Lee's article on Arthur Hall in the *Dictionary of National Biography* has been a fruitful source of information to me, without which this book in its present form would have been impossible.

For their courtesy at all times, I would thank the authorities of the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, the Record Office and Somerset House, the University Library, Würzburg, the Royal Library, Munich, the University Library, Manchester, the John Rylands Library, and the University College Library, Bangor.

Finally, it is a pleasant duty to express my thanks to Mr. H. M. McKechnie for his care in seeing this book through the press.

A word of explanation ought perhaps to be added regarding the method of quoting Elizabethan originals. In extracts from printed works, the old use of *i* and *j*, and *u* and *v* has been followed. On the other hand, in the transcriptions of the MSS., whose usage is so unsettled, the modern practice has been everywhere introduced.

H. G. WRIGHT.

BANGOR, 18 January, 1919.

CONTENTS.

CHAP.	PAGE
I. THE HALL FAMILY	I
II. BIRTHPLACE AND CHILDHOOD OF ARTHUR HALL	18
III. HALL BROUGHT UP AS CECIL'S WARD	24
IV. HALL'S COMING OF AGE, MARRIAGE, AND TRAVELS	35
V. HALL ENTERS PARLIAMENT: HIS LIFE IN LONDON	47
VI. HALL'S QUARREL WITH MELCHISEDECH MALLORY	55
VII. THE PRIVILEGES OF A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT INVOLVED	61
VIII. ANOTHER CASE OF PRIVILEGE: HALL IN THE TOWER	68
IX. HALL QUARRELS WITH LADY SUSSEX AND IS AGAIN IM- PRISONED	76
X. HALL'S RELATIONS WITH LORD BURGHLEY.	88
XI. HALL AS A COUNTRY GENTLEMAN	94
XII. THE CLOSING YEARS OF HALL'S LIFE.	104
XIII. HALL'S VIEWS ON ECONOMIC MATTERS	114
XIV. HALL'S MINOR WORKS.	123
XV. HALL'S TRANSLATION OF HOMER.	130
XVI. STYLE AND TECHNIQUE OF HALL'S TRANSLATION	139
XVII. HALL'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS GREEK LIFE	163
XVIII. IMPORTANCE OF HALL'S TRANSLATION	170

APPENDICES.

I. DOCUMENTS RELATING TO HALL'S LIFE	173
II. HALL'S TREATISE ON TRANSPORTABLE COMMODITIES	209
III. BIBLIOGRAPHY	224
INDEX	229

CHAPTER I.

THE HALL FAMILY.

THE path of the genealogist is beset with many dangers, and the further back we pursue it, the more perilous does it become. Allowances must always be made for human nature and the not unnatural desire to boast of a lengthy pedigree. Even if we were to cast aside habitual caution, the family pride of Arthur Hall would put us on our guard and cause us to view with some suspicion his overweening opinion of the importance of himself and the rest of the Halls. The claims put forward on behalf of the family by the Elizabethan herald tended to increase rather than to diminish this vanity. If we are to believe him implicitly, the Halls were a branch of the Fitzwilliam family, and the change of name came about in the following manner: "William Fitzwilliam was receiver to the Lord Falconbridge, and because he dwelt at the Hall Place of Whitton at Humberbank in co. Lincoln, he was surnamed William at the Hall, and his issue after him called Hall, and thus the ancestors of the within named Arthur Hall have neglected to bear their ancient name and arms of Fitzwilliam, and Thomas Hall of Grantham was the first that did bear argent on a chevron between three talbots' heads erased sable a star of six points or."¹

The herald draws up a pedigree intended to prove that the Halls were descended from a certain Fitzwilliam who was marshal to William the Conqueror.² It would seem, however, as if at least part of this pedigree must be regarded as one of those agreeable fictions which the old heralds delighted in. Nothing is known of such a Marshal Fitzwilliam, and the ancient standing

¹ *Visitation of Lincolnshire*, 1562-64, reprinted in the *Genealogist*. For the Hall family, see Vol. IV, pp. 23-4, London, January 1880. Another pedigree of the Hall family, giving the arms practically as above, will be found in Vincent's *MS. Collection* at the College of Arms.

² A similar pedigree, though somewhat less complete, is contained in *MSS. Harl.*, 1417, fol. 32, at the British Museum.

of the Halls is not beyond all question. Larken, apparently following these old pedigrees, agrees with the Elizabethan herald in regarding as the founder of the Hall family the above-mentioned William Fitzwilliam, whose grandson, Thomas Hall, was the first to settle at Grantham.¹ Whether we are justified in recognising a connection between the families of Hall and Fitzwilliam on these flimsy grounds is more than doubtful. It is true that Arthur Hall's father Francis owned land at Whitton on Humber,² and this might be taken as corroborating the statement of the Elizabethan herald, but really reliable documentary evidence of the relationship between the Halls and Fitzwilliams does not seem to exist. In any case, certain of Arthur Hall's contemporaries were apparently not fully convinced of the antiquity of his family, for one of the accusations levelled at him by his enemies charged him with being "false and vainglorious in the behalfe of his owne discent".³ It is, however, certain that the Halls were settled as landowners at Grantham by the middle of the fifteenth century, for in 1552 it is stated of one of the tenants on Arthur Hall's estates that "he and his auncestors have bene tenauntz and servantz to the Halls this hondreth yeres".⁴ This brings us down to the time of Arthur Hall's great-grandfather Thomas, in dealing with whom we are on safer ground.

Thomas Hall was evidently a man of wealth and importance. He lived in what was for those days a large house, to the east of Grantham Church, and in 1503 he had the high honour of entertaining the Lady Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry VII. Leland describes how the royal traveller, then on her way to marry James IV of Scotland, reached Grantham on July 8, 1503. Outside the town she was met by the aldermen and the burgesses, who with the local gentry and the friars formed a procession and conducted her to Grantham. "And att the sayd Place lightyd of his Horse my Lord the Bishop of Norwich; the wich gaff her the Crossys for to kysse. . . . This doon she was brought with

¹ Larken's *MS. Collection of Lincolnshire Pedigrees* preserved at the College of Arms, Vol. 2, p. 185 *et seq.* Amongst his authorities Larken mentions *MSS. Harl.*, 1233, fol. 118, and *MSS. Rawlinson*, fol. 77. But the connection with the Fitzwilliams, though possible, does not seem based on very safe evidence for all that.

² See the account of Francis Hall's lands in 1552, *MSS. Harl.*, No. 4135, fol. 35.

³ *MSS. Lansdowne*, Vol. 31, No. 22.

⁴ *State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI*, Vol. 15, No. 21.

the sayd Compayne in fayr Aray to hyr Lodgyngs, that was with a Gentyلمان called Mr. Hioll." Here she remained until July 10, and was then duly escorted by the notables of the place some three miles beyond the town.¹

In 1504 Thomas Hall was alderman of Grantham and in all probability died the same year, as his will, made on December 20, was proved at Lambeth on February 17, 1505.² He was a staunch supporter of the Church, and founded the Chapel of St. Katharyn on the north side of the splendid edifice dedicated to St. Wulfram at Grantham. In 1496 permission was given to him, his sons Francis and John, his son-in-law William Meryng, and two others, to found, in this chapel, a perpetual chantry of one chaplain to pray for the King, his Queen Elizabeth, his mother Margaret, Arthur, Prince of Wales, and the founder.³ In his will he expressed a desire to be buried "in the Chapell of saint Kateryn which I caused to be made at the North side of the church of saint Wulfran in Grantham at the aultier ende within the said Chapell afore the ymage of the holy virgyn and martir saint Kateryn". A niche, where the image doubtless stood, was discovered in the north-east corner of the chapel in 1908. The original entrance from the Corpus Christi Chapel was later walled up. The one now in use is a very fine archway, going back to the end of the fifteenth century. This opening formerly contained a recumbent effigy of Thomas Hall, but, like all other monuments to the Halls, which may have existed, this has now disappeared.⁴

The will of Thomas Hall shows him to have been a man of

¹ *Johannis Lelandi Antiquarii de rebus britannicis Collectanea*, Vol. IV, pp. 268-69.

² Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, No. 25, Holgrave—preserved at Somerset House.

³ See *Records of the Parish and Prebendal Church, the Guilds and Chantries of Grantham*, by Colonel Welby.

⁴ Edmund Turnor, *Collections for the History of the Town and Soke of Grantham*, p. 1, states that the arms of the family of Hall are carved in stone above this archway. I have had these arms photographed, and Canon Carr Smith, Vicar of Grantham, has kindly confirmed the accuracy of the photograph. But the arms are certainly not those of Hall, a view corroborated by Mr. Keith W. Murray, Portcullis of the College of Arms. Colonel Welby suggests that the carver may have been ignorant of heraldry, and as the work was high up on the arch, he made but a feeble effort to copy some drawing or description, or else when the recumbent effigy in what is now the doorway was removed, the arch was perhaps reconstructed and the arms were merely a bad copy of an original defaced during the Civil War.

substance and position. It provided that he should be followed to his grave by six poor men with four torches and four tapers. Like a faithful son of the Church, he remembered the clergy not only of Grantham but of the whole district, on condition that they should pray for his soul on the day of his burial and at regular intervals thereafter. To the friars of Grantham he left a chalice and a suit of vestments of black satin, and he likewise desired that each of them should receive four yards of broad cloth for singing "dirige and masse there as my body is buried". Bequests were also made to the parish church at Grantham and to churches at Lincoln, Walsingham, Whitton, Welby, Londerthorpe, Honington, Denton, and Gonwardby. Seven guilds at Grantham and the nuns of Haverholm received 3s. 4d. each to pray for the soul of the dead man. It is evident that only a man who was well provided with earthly goods would make bequests on this scale, and only a man of rank would provide for the attendance of all the clergy of the district at his funeral. The list of his lands and the numerous jewels left to his relatives more than bear out what the ecclesiastical legacies suggest. Amongst the plate he bequeaths are basins, ewers, goblets, spoons, salts, and a "pottell potte". The source of all this wealth is perhaps indicated by the fact mentioned at the beginning of the will, that Thomas Hall was a Merchant of the Staple of Calais. Was the Hall family really long established before his time as the Elizabethan herald tries to show? Or was its founder this merchant Thomas Hall, who settled at Grantham, in one of the great wool-producing counties of England? This we have been unable to decide, but the fact remains that Arthur Hall's great-grandfather was one of the magnates of Grantham and the neighbouring district.

With regard to the next representative of the Hall family, less is known. He seems to have lived the quiet life of a country squire and occasionally figures in the State records in connection with the administration of justice. At intervals from 1514 to 1532, he is mentioned as a Commissioner of Peace for Kesteven, Lincs., and from 1523 to 1524 as a member of the commission for collecting the subsidy in the same district, whilst in 1515 he is entrusted with certain responsibilities in connection with the gaol at Grantham. The Francis Hall who sat as member for Grantham in the Parliament which met at Blackfriars on Novem-

ber 3, 1529, was probably the same person. He died in August 1534, as we learn from a letter addressed by his son Francis to Lady Lisle on that occasion.¹

As both father and son bore the same name of Francis, it is not always easy to decipher which of the two is referred to in the records. Thus we find the Duke of Suffolk writing to Wolsey on September 23, 1518, to say that he has received by his servant, Francis Hall, Wolsey's advice touching his and the French Queen's causes in France.² And seven years later Mary Queen of France, informs Wolsey that acting on the advice of the King and himself, she has decided to send some one to France about her dowry, amongst those chosen for the purpose being Francis Hall.³

No doubt is possible, however, as to the identity of the Francis Hall whom we find at Calais in 1528. The life of Arthur Hall's father was destined to be bound up with the fortunes of the old fortress, and he was to remain here in one capacity or another until his death nearly twenty-five years later. At this early stage, Francis Hall held the rank of a "spear," with a salary of 18d. a day and two men under his command.⁴ Hall had doubtless crossed the Channel in the train of his uncle, Sir Robert Wingfield, who was appointed Deputy of Calais in 1526. Had the latter continued to hold office, Francis Hall would perhaps have been promoted more rapidly than was actually the case. Wingfield was followed in 1531 by Lord Berners who died, laden with debt, in the following year. Some of his property, which was claimed by the Crown in payment of his debts, was deposited in Francis Hall's house.⁵ The new deputy, Lord Lisle, was before long at cross purposes with Wingfield, who had been appointed Mayor of Calais in 1534. The following

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Hy. VIII*, I, Pt. 1, p. 199.

² *Ibid.*, II, Pt. 2, p. 1367. There was a certain connection between the Halls and the Suffolk family. Thus in a letter of July 6, 1539, Francis Hall, junior, mentions that he has supped with the Duke of Suffolk (*ibid.*, XIV, Pt. 1, p. 546). At his death he held from the Duke of Suffolk a small amount of land at Manthorpe (*Harl. MSS.*, No. 4155, p. 35b). Arthur Hall, in his *Letter sent by F.A.*, tells us that various of his relations were in attendance on Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk, and that she warned him on one occasion when his life was endangered (see p. 58).

³ *Ibid.*, IV, Pt. 1, p. 736.

⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, Pt. 2, p. 2226, and also the *Chronicle of Calais*, ed. by G. Nichols, p. 137.

⁵ *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 83, 141.

year their unfriendly relations culminated in a violent quarrel as to the rights of the deputy and mayor, which was decided by the King's intervention on the side of Lord Lisle and the threatened expulsion of Wingfield from the Council of Calais. All this was not without its influence on the fortunes of Francis Hall. On the whole, he seems to have been on good terms with Lord Lisle. His duties were not so exacting as to prevent him from making frequent journeys to England, and on these occasions he had generally some little commission to attend to for Lord or Lady Lisle. Thus he conveys the desire of a mutual acquaintance for a goshawk, or regrets that he has not been able to arrange for the delivery of beef and mutton. Or again he mentions that the Duke of Suffolk tried Lady Lisle's wine with him, and as Hall discreetly remarks, "praised it as it deserved," but as he kept only "one piece for his own drinking" and sent the other two to his wife, we may infer Suffolk's opinion of Lady Lisle's domestic skill. With the distribution of such "tokens," Hall was frequently entrusted.¹

A cloud came over his relations with Lord Lisle in 1536, which was not improbably connected with the violent disputes going on about this time between the deputy and Hall's uncle. Lord Lisle had accused Hall of behaving otherwise than became him and was offended when Hall thereupon ceased to visit his house. "He has never made trial whether the fault was in me or in my accuser," declares Hall.² This estrangement was not of long duration, for towards the end of the same year, Hall writes to thank Lord and Lady Lisle for their kindness to his wife who has just given birth to a daughter. He himself was absent in England at the time, and marvelled "who durst be so bold to desire my good lord to help to christen a wench".³ This was just after the outbreak of the rebellion occasioned by the heavy taxation and the religious innovations. For Hall, as a Lincolnshire landowner, it must have had a special importance, so it is hardly surprising to find him entering into a detailed account of the condition of affairs.

Even Calais was not free from these religious troubles which accompanied the passing of the old faith. Ripples from the storm-centre penetrate into this outpost of the kingdom, and in-

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Hy. VIII*, VI, pp. 474-75; VII, pp. 221, 446.

² *Ibid.*, X, p. 263.

³ *Ibid.*, XI, p. 441.

volve Francis Hall, though only indirectly. Hall himself seems to have been a man of the world who accepted the changes without protest and followed the King his master. Indeed, his tone is sometimes almost cynical, as when he writes in 1539 to Lady Lisle that the Bishops of Worcester and Salisbury have resigned their bishoprics and adds, "they be not of the wisest sort, methinks, for few nowadays will leave and give over such promotions for keeping of opinion".¹ Nor did Hall feel the slightest repugnance to taking his share of the pickings which were left over after the courtiers and advisers of the monarch had taken their due share. Thus in 1539 we find him purchasing from the Crown extensive estates in Lincolnshire, formerly the property of the Church.² About this time religious dissensions had reached a great height at Calais. Amongst others, Sir William Smith and a priest, Ralph Hare by name, were active in dissuading the people from accepting the new doctrines set forth by the King. Nor was their propaganda without success. Mass, matins, and evensong were almost completely boycotted, and out of 1700 persons in the parish of St. Mary's, not more than ten or twelve frequented the services. Proceedings were therefore instituted against both Smith and Hare. The former was punished and dismissed, one of the witnesses against him being Francis Hall. In July 1539, Hare was brought before the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth and examined. Amongst those present we find Francis Hall and John Leland, the "parson of Peplyng" near Calais.³ In the following year two other priests were even more severely treated. They were hanged, drawn, and quartered, and their dismembered bodies placed on the towers of the town.⁴

Lord Lisle himself was involved in these religious troubles. In the spring of 1540 a commission was sent to Calais to investigate the rumours which were current about the deputy. It was found that Calais had been carelessly guarded, for two hundred of the garrison were mere boys, whilst strangers had no difficulty in entering the town, nor were they prevented from walking

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Hy. VIII*, XIV, Pt. 1, p. 546.

² *Ibid.*, XIV, Pt. 2, pp. 72, 159-60, 221. Cf. pp. 25, 35.

³ *Ibid.*, XIV, Pt. 1, pp. 543, 545. See also the *Chronicle of Calais*, p. 186. Leland, in his *Itinerary* (I, 28), mentions amongst the gentlemen of Kesteven, Lincs., the family of "Haulle" without any comment.

⁴ *Chronicle of Calais*, pp. 47-8.

about the walls in order to see the fortifications. Finally, Lord Lisle was found guilty of having communicated with the Pope and Cardinal Pole, and of having favoured Adam Damply, one of the priests who worked on the feelings of the people of Calais. The deputy was recalled and imprisoned in the Tower. Lady Lisle, with a gentlewoman, chamberer, and groom to attend her, was placed in the charge of Francis Hall, who is described as a "sad" (serious) man with "a sober, honest wife".¹ Changes of fortune were unusually abrupt in those troublous times, and it must have been a melancholy reflection for Lady Lisle that she was now entrusted to the keeping of one, who had written a year earlier, asking her to be his protector and defender, if there should be any of an adverse friendship. "The world changes very often nowadays," he had concluded.²

However, the misfortune of the deputy seems to mark a turning-point in the career of Francis Hall. From this time onwards he becomes more and more prominent in the King's service. The remark of the commissioners in 1540 shows that he was thought to be reliable. Indeed, he had already been entrusted with an important mission in 1537, when he took part in the campaign between Francis I and the Emperor on the side of the latter. In May we find him writing from Douai, but the rest of the time he seems to have been taking part in the siege of Thérrouenne. His letters, describing the operations, the diplomatic rumours, and, finally, the negotiations for a truce, were sent to his uncle Sir Robert Wingfield, at Calais, who transmitted them to Cromwell. The campaign was not without its dangers, but methods of warfare were somewhat leisurely in those days, as we see from Hall's description of operations at Thérrouenne. "Our folks reviled those of the town that they had no powder, but they answered that our folks should know they had powder enough, though they shot little."³

Under the new deputy, Lord Maltravers, Hall soon rose to a position of confidence. Thus towards the close of 1540 he was sent to the Court of the Emperor in Flanders, in order "to

¹ *Chronicle of Calais*, p. 187, and *State Papers, Hy. VIII*, XV, p. 355.

² *Ibid.*, XIV, Pt. 2, p. 26.

³ For the account of this campaign, see *Cal. State Papers, Hy. VIII*, XII, Pt. 1, pp. 542, 608-9; XII, Pt. 2, pp. 37-8, 52, 54, 84, 90, 126, 127, 131, 133, 136-37, 142, 146, 150-51, 357.

see and hear". At first he had no great welcome from his former comrades-in-arms, but the day after his arrival he was cordially greeted by the Grand Master, who added, "the last time we were together we had a journey, if we had been so happy to have followed it and to have tarried it out; but I trust once or I die to see as good or a better, and also that we shall have more help and assistance of Englishmen". This meeting occurred at church, and when mass was over, the Emperor, "stayed coming down the chancel and took Hall by the hand, gently lifting him up when he would have kneeled," and thanked him for his services in the last wars. Hall was invited to dine with the Great Master, who honoured him with an account of the then state of European politics.¹

Though Hall at this time was only a spear, he is mentioned as being also Deputy-Surveyor.² His visit to the Court of the Emperor was probably connected with the growing tension between the English and French. The proceedings of the garrison of Calais in the summer of 1540, in which Francis Hall as Deputy-Surveyor played an important part, rather increased than diminished the irritation. On the advent of Lord Maltravers, great activity was shown in repairing the fortifications of Calais and in strengthening the outworks. Military reasons were always the decisive factor at Calais. This is clearly seen in the case of certain lands which had been drained by Hall's uncle Sir Robert Wingfield, and turned from useless marsh into valuable ground, on which he had built houses. Before long, however, it was decided, that in this way Calais had become more vulnerable, and in 1536 Wingfield was compelled to give up the lands, the houses were destroyed, and the sea let in.³ This striking instance shows that no trifling with military exigencies was tolerated. In 1540 strong measures were taken to remove a new menace to the security of the garrison from the quarter of the French fortress of Ardres. Over the river which divided the French

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Hy. VIII*, XVI, pp. 120, 125. ² *Ibid.*, XV, pp. 276, 482.

³ The lands covered 4000 acres, for which Wingfield paid only a nominal rental of £20. He believed that he owed this loss to the malevolence of Lord Lisle, and hence their quarrel. However, he was unwilling to yield, and the matter was discussed in Parliament. Finally, he received very inadequate compensation in the shape of lands near Guisnes at a higher rental. In a letter to Cromwell in 1537, Wingfield refers to these lands, and says he had intended to divide his property between his four nephews, the Wingfields and Francis Hall (*ibid.*, XII, Pt. 1, p. 211).

and English pales there stood a bridge called the Cowbridge. It was feared that the French might force a way across, and having beaten back the guard, bring up artillery against the town itself. The Privy Council decided that three great ditches should be dug across the road leading from Calais to the bridge and then filled with water. Secrecy and expedition were essential. The whole operation was carried out in one night between 3 a.m. and daybreak, amongst the "good, substantial, and discreet governors" appointed to look after the "indiscreet" workmen being Francis Hall.¹

When the French discovered what had been done, they protested indignantly. Words being ineffective in restoring the old order of things, they took further measures, as we see from a letter of Lord Maltravers to Henry VIII. With Sir Edward Wotton, Francis Hall, and an attendant, Maltravers had ridden out to the Cowbridge to find what the French were about. When the company was within a bowshot of the bridge, four French "hakebutters" issued from a house on their side and shot at the deputy and his company, who thereupon retired.²

Francis Hall had now become one of the right-hand men of the deputy, and was so much in the favour of the Privy Council that in the autumn of 1540 they instructed him to join "Stephen th' Almain" in drawing up a map of Calais and the marshes round it. In due course, therefore, Hall rode with the German draughtsman from point to point, and even paid a visit with him to the Governor of Ardres. Here they spent a day which enabled Stephen to see enough to prepare a plan of all the French fortifications.³ All that autumn Francis Hall was busy attending to the repairs of the fortifications, and in 1541, when a commission was appointed to discuss the question of the Cowbridge with the French, he was chosen as the English representative.⁴ An incident which occurred in the latter year shows very clearly in what esteem Hall was now held. In June the deputy sent him to hand over to the King the map of Calais already mentioned. When returning, at the beginning of July, Hall was

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Hy. VIII, XV*, pp. 500-1, and *Chron. of Calais*, pp. 191-96.

² *Cal. State Papers, Hy. VIII, XVI*, p. 87.

³ *Ibid.*, XVI, pp. 114, 124-25, 447. There is little doubt that this is the map in *MSS. Cotton.*, Aug. I, ii. 71, and reprinted in *Chron. of Calais*.

⁴ *Cal. State Papers, Hy. VIII, XVI*, pp. 127, 258, 301, 447-48.

hurt by a fall from his horse not far from Canterbury. As soon as the King heard of this accident he gave instructions that physicians should be despatched to attend to Hall. Thereupon the Lord Chancellor sent no less than three, amongst them being the King's own surgeon.¹ About this period, Francis Hall was appointed to take part in the administration of justice at Calais. Both in 1540 and 1541 he was a member of the Commission of Oyer and Terminer for the town.² Further evidence of his important position is to be found in the application to him in 1543 of a number of Scots, who desired to pass through Calais and then across England on their way home.³

The difficulties these Scots met with cannot cause surprise, for their own country was on friendly terms with France, whilst the long-smouldering hostility between Henry VIII and Francis I had now burst into flame. An alliance between the King of England and the Emperor Charles V of Austria marked the beginning of a conflict which had long been expected. In February 1543 the alliance was concluded, and a war soon entered on, in which Francis Hall played his part. Towards the end of July an army left Calais and proceeded to join Sir John Wallop, the lieutenant of the castle and county of Guisnes. Under his command they entered French territory, "spoiling and burning all the way they went". On the 29th the army was before Théroutenne, which Francis Hall knew previously from the campaign of 1537. "Our chieftain," says one of those present, "sent up to the captain of Théroutenne a letter, requiring him that six men of arms, being gentlemen, might run with six gentlemen of our army for life and death; to the which answer was made in the morning, that he would send six gentlemen of arms to run, and ten gentlemen armed to keep them company." Amongst the six who tilted on the English side was "Master Hall," who in all probability was no other than Francis Hall himself.⁴

This was only a foray, but in the following year a simultaneous invasion of France by the English and imperial forces was planned. Henry VIII was to break into Picardy and the Emperor into Champagne, and the two armies were to converge on Paris without tarrying in order to besiege fortresses on the

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Hy. VIII*, XVI, pp. 447, 472-73.

² *Ibid.*, XVI, pp. 143, 277.

³ *Ibid.*, XVIII, Pt. 1, p. 222.

⁴ *MSS. Harl.*, 283, f. 3, quoted in *Chron. of Calais*, pp. 211-13.

way. However, Henry VIII did not follow this plan, but turned aside to besiege Boulogne and Montreuil. Francis I was in no enviable position, and desired greatly to make peace with one or the other of his enemies. We therefore find him making tentative proposals to Henry VIII in April 1544, Francis Hall being the intermediary through whom these were made. Francis I was unwilling to detract from his dignity by making overtures direct to the King, and so he commissioned the Sieur de Saint-Martin to approach some English gentleman of Calais or Guisnes, not as one bringing official terms of peace, but merely as a Frenchman whose chief desire was the welfare of his country. The possibility of peace seems to have been discussed at first by Saint-Martin and Hall in the house of the latter at Calais. In July of this year, Saint-Martin received a letter from the Sieur de Vrévins containing proposals which he was to repeat to Hall. The latter at once carried the letter to Henry VIII who had just come to Calais. Saint-Martin was sent for, and in the presence of the Duke of Suffolk, Francis Hall, and others, the King questioned him as to the letter and the proposals it contained. Henry VIII pointed out the objection to his receiving proposals in this roundabout fashion, recalled also his alliance with the Emperor, but did not show himself averse to a reconciliation with Francis I. "If it will please my brother to see me, he or his sons, giving me two or three days' notice, shall be welcome, and I promise him on the faith of a prince, that they will fare no worse than myself." If Francis and he were together, Henry went on to say, he would tell him things which possibly he would not tell his own Council, "et me trouvera tout tel qu'il m'a tousjours trouve".¹

For the time being nothing came of these proposals. Indeed, Francis I chose to make peace with the Emperor at Crépy in September 1544, rather than accede to the terms which he shrewdly suspected Henry VIII would demand. So the war went on, and Francis Hall was energetic in contributing to its successful prosecution. In May 1544 he received instructions from the Privy Council to proceed to Flanders as the King's agent to levy wagons and horses for the summer campaign against the French. On June 7, we find that he had arrived at

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Hy. VIII, XIX, Preface and Pt. 1, pp. 185-86, 210, 211, 216, 571.*

Brussels. He proceeded to the house of the English ambassador who was on his death-bed. The new agent for the King's transport was, however, in haste. Resolutely making his way into the Queen of Hungary's presence, he made known his demands, and was so energetic that she "used great diligence". What the Council lacked in foresight, Hall made up for by vigorous action. No previous warning had been given so that the wagons and horses might be brought together, and now in a few days they were all to be on their way to Calais. No provision had been made either for persons to have charge of the 3000 horses and the 1600 wagoners "who are not the best conditioned people". Nevertheless, by June 11 Hall was back again at Calais, having fulfilled his mission.¹

Although "thoroughly wearied" he was given little rest. Before the end of June he was instructed by the Privy Council to repair once more to Flanders, on an errand similar to the previous one. Hall's "experience in these and other matters touching the wars" was put to a severe test on this second occasion. Arriving at Antwerp on June 27, he rode through Mechlin to Brussels, where he found the affairs of the King in an unsatisfactory state. The Queen of Hungary and her councillors began to place obstacles in the way. They objected to the large number of wagons and horses required, to the short notice given, to the insufficient payment, to the treatment of the wagoners, and so on. Arriving at Brussels on a Saturday, Hall could do nothing on the Sunday. The next day the Queen went hunting and Hall sat fuming at the delay. The day following he contrived to see her as she was coming from mass. A meeting of the Council was held, and Hall's request refused. But opposition only made him the more eager. By his persistent requests, he managed to see the Queen again, "being in the long gallery toward supper". He pointed out what a small matter this was for a King's business, and how "ungrately" the King must take her refusal. After supper, Hall returned to the charge once more, being armed this time with a letter from the imperial ambassador in London. He followed the Queen "down into her harbours and gardens," without receiving any encouragement from the courtiers present, who were so full of "gentle humanity," that

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Hy. VIII, XIX, Pt. 1, pp. 368-69, 404-5, 406, 412, 428, 466-67, 482.*

when forced to speak, they spoke—"yet but disdainfully and hollowly". When the Queen had read his letter and all seemed ashamed or afraid of his company, Hall asked a courtier to remind her of him. The Queen turned round and said she would reply on the day following. Hall gave her no chance to forget the matter, but reminded her of it on her return from mass. Worried and irritated by this pertinacious Englishman, the Council finally granted his request. At the sight of Hall, however, the President "began to swell as though he would have burst (I think the sight of an Englishman is so pleasant unto him), and right spitefully and irefully said to me, 'You may tarry without door well enough'". Meditating bitterly upon the courtiers of Queen Mary of Hungary, Hall set out for Calais. Here he was always kept busy, "being called upon and having my head broken on every side".¹ However, his zealous and untiring service in the King's interests was not allowed to pass unrewarded. In June 1544 and February 1545, we find him mentioned as one of the Council of Calais. It must have been about this time that the office of Comptroller of Calais was conferred on him. In July 1545 the Privy Council wrote to him on money matters, and the following month he is definitely mentioned as holding this position.²

Hall's experience and energy had already proved to the Privy Council what a valuable agent they possessed in him, and in August 1545 he was therefore sent to Antwerp and thence to Brussels, in order that he might obtain leave for himself and four others to pass through the Emperor's dominions, for the purpose of levying mercenaries in Germany. The necessary permits having been granted, the commissioners set out on horseback, taking with them part of the money for the mercenaries, the remainder being forwarded by wagon. At Maastricht, Hall and his company were met by an escort of about fifty horsemen, "for from thence forwards is counted dangerous". On September 3 the commissioners were all at Cologne where they met Eitel Wolf, Buchholt, and Friedrich von Reiffenberg, who seemed to be "a very quiet, reasonable, and conformable man," an estimate destined ere long to be proved mistaken.

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Hy. VIII, XIX, Pt. 1, pp. 460, 463, 477, 483, 514, 517-21, 522-24, 527, 529, 533-34, 543-46, 550-51, 555, 562-63, 586-89; ibid., Pt. 2, pp. 11-12.*

² *Ibid., XIX, Pt. 1, p. 421; XX, Pt. 1, pp. 79, 539, 630; ibid., Pt. 2, p. 57.*

They proceeded up the Rhine to Bonn and thence to Andernach, below Coblenz. Having gathered their men together, they arrived at Aachen on October 3 and prepared to march. Here they found young William Brooke, the eldest son of Lord Cobham, Deputy of Calais. Imbued with the spirit of adventure, "Master William," who was more bent on wars than letters, could not be dissuaded from accompanying Hall and his fellows.

The route to be pursued caused some anxiety. At the beginning of their enterprise, the commissioners had displayed a cheerful optimism. They did not intend to pass through the Low Countries, but to traverse French territory, using force if necessary. No one, and the Emperor least of all, was desirous of having within his dominions an army of mercenaries consisting of some 10,000 foot, 2000 horse, and 400 pioneers with eight brass field-pieces. However, an audience with the Bishop of Liège gave them the permission to pass through his territory. They travelled down the Meuse valley, through Fleurus to Châtelet on the Sambre, meeting with many difficulties on their journey. Their guides led them a roundabout way so that certain villages might earn a little money; they had to journey for a considerable distance through woods and rocky hills, where only three men could go "in a front"; they ran short of provisions and, to crown all, the mercenaries refused to advance unless they received more money. Things had come to this pass on October 17, when Francis Hall, who had for some time been suffering from a fever, was obliged to depart for Brussels. He was fortunate in getting away. On November 6 he writes from Louvain complaining of the unreasonable attitude of the German mercenaries, who refuse to advance into France, in spite of all the money they have received and all the promises they have given.

Worse was to come. Only a few days later they seized the commissioners who had remained with them, and declared they would carry them off to Germany as a pledge for further payment. One of them, Chamberlain, they hourly threatened with swords and daggers "set to his breast," and sometimes with hanging, so that "the man is become almost besides himself". "They are now in the hands of no reasonable men," exclaims the writer who describes these events, "but in the cruel handling of a most cruel and wicked sort: God, which

holpe Daniel in the midst of the lions, deliver them out of the hands of so wicked a people." Apparently this enterprise was a complete fiasco. The mercenaries never crossed the French frontier, and towards the end of 1545 the undertaking was abandoned as hopeless. So were the commissioners deceived in that "quiet, reasonable, and conformable man," Friedrich von Reiffenberg and his followers.¹

Of any further part which Francis Hall may have played in this war, nothing is known. Hostilities came to an end on June 8, 1546, when peace was signed at Ardres, and Hall settled down to his ordinary duties at Calais. His name figures in a memorandum of Lord Cobham and the Council of Calais in 1547, drawing the attention of the Privy Council to the scarcity of provisions in the town. The purveyors, who were to furnish the garrison with cheese and butter from Suffolk and with beeves from Kent, had been deprived of their provisions by commissioners appointed to furnish other places.² In July 1550 the Privy Council decided that Hall should be one of the commissioners to discuss the Anglo-French frontier.³ When death overtook him two years later, he still occupied his old post, for in his will he is styled "Comptroller of the kinges majestes Towne and marches of Calice".⁴

Francis Hall left behind him his wife Ursula, a son Arthur, and three daughters. He was, as his correspondence shows, much attached to his wife, in spite of her shortcomings, which he does not forget to mention. Whenever he is compelled to leave Calais and go to England on business, he longs to be home again. Thus writing from London on July 6, 1539, he begs to be recommended to Lord Lisle and others, and then adds "so that my little shrewd wife be not forgotten, for though she be so short a mistress and so divers of conditions, that few or none gentlewomen in Calais be glad of her company, as I hear say hath been plainly told her to her face sith my departing,

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Hy. VIII, XX, Pt. 2*, pp. 57, 77, 78-9, 89-90, 102-3, 106-7, 107-8, 130-31, 136-37, 147, 156-58, 191-92, 239, 278-80, 354, 359, 474, 477.

² *Ibid.*, *Foreign, Edward VI*, p. 296, Calais Papers, item 12.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 50, item 223, p. 62, item 262. Also *Acts of the Privy Council* (ed. Dasent), III, p. 82.

⁴ Other references to this last period of Hall's life will be found in *Cal. State Papers, Hy. VIII, XXI, Pt. 1*, pp. 123, 145, and also in *Cal. State Papers, Foreign, Edward VI*, p. 326, Calais Papers, item 100.

yet must I, poor man, keep her with all her shrewd conditions, whatsoever they be, as you do know".¹

Francis Hall was evidently a kindly man within the family circle and possessed of a good heart. In his will² he mentions one Dorothy Leighton, "a right honest mayden and a gentil-woman whome I do use to call doughter," and "not knowing what fryndes she hathe," he bequeaths one hundred marks to her, to be paid on the day of her marriage. His care for his dependents is clearly revealed by the provision made for them in the will, and is reflected in the letters of Ursula Hall to Cecil on their behalf, subsequent to the death of the Comptroller.³ Straightforward and loyal, frank and outspoken, Francis Hall was a very genuine, honest sort of man, and in this bluff soldier the King lost a valuable servant. The desire expressed in his will that he should be "catholically, without pomp brought to the earth," is characteristic of the man.⁴

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Hy. VIII, XIV, Pt. 1, p. 546, and similarly Pt. 2, p. 26.*

² See Appendix, p. 174.

³ See Appendix, pp. 175-76.

⁴ In his will he wished to be buried in "Seynt Nicholas Churchyarde, beside my uncle Sir Robert Wingfelde". The latter, the brother of Francis Hall's mother, died in 1538. He was Deputy of Calais, Knight of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and Ambassador at the Papal See. In his will he directed his body to be buried in St. Nicholas' Church, Calais, if he should die in or near that town, but if not, then he desired to be buried at Rushforth, or at St. Peter's Church, London (see M. E. Wingfield, Lord Powerscourt, *Muniments of the Ancient Family of Wingfield*, Pedigree, p. 3). It was therefore in all probability in St. Nicholas' Church, Calais, that Francis Hall was interred.

CHAPTER II.

BIRTHPLACE AND CHILDHOOD OF ARTHUR HALL.

THE exact date of Arthur Hall's birth has hitherto been doubtful, but can now be established with some degree of certainty. When Francis Hall died in June 1552, and the usual inquisition was held on the property of a tenant holding land in chief from the King, the jury swore that Arthur Hall was son and next heir, and that at the death of his father he was aged thirteen years.¹ The year of his birth must therefore be 1539.

His birthplace has been stated to be Grantham,² though no document seems to exist which would prove this. On the contrary, we may assume from his father's long residence at Calais that Arthur was born there. Indeed there are even references in Francis Hall's correspondence for 1539, which seem to point to Calais as the birthplace of his son. In July and August of this year he was in England, and from his letters to Lady Lisle we gather that his wife had remained at Calais. On both occasions when he writes, Francis Hall thanks Lady Lisle for her great kindness to his wife in his absence, and expresses a strong desire to be back at Calais. These sentiments prove nothing, of course, but serve as indications which tend to support the hypothesis that Arthur Hall was born at Calais.³ In any case, whatever his birthplace, Hall certainly spent the early years of his childhood at Calais, and it is here we find him on the death of his father. Though the town itself was essentially English, there was naturally frequent intercourse with the French, which would no doubt explain the excellent knowledge

¹ *Chancery Inquisitions*, Series II, Vol. 96, No. 7. It may be noted that Cooper, *Athenæ Cantab.*, II, 397, calls Arthur Hall's father John. This is an error, as shown by the inquisitions and State Papers. John Hall was the uncle of Francis Hall and lived near Grantham. He died about the same time as Francis Hall and hence the confusion.

² Cooper, *op. cit.*, II, 397, and Sir S. Lee in *D.N.B.*, XXIV, 56.

³ *Cal. State Papers, Hy. VIII*, XIV, Pt. 1, p. 546, and Pt. 2, p. 26.

of French that Arthur Hall in his manhood possessed. Again he showed in later life a certain familiarity with ships and matters nautical, which might be expected in one brought up in a port like Calais.

The atmosphere and organisation of Calais at that time were, on the whole, those of an English town. The citizens were largely of English extraction, and, as at home, they were represented by a Mayor. As was only natural, however, in a fortress, life bore a military stamp. Supreme in authority was the Deputy, the representative of the King. To other officers various important tasks were told off. The Surveyor of the Works was responsible for the fortifications being kept in repair, and the Master Porter had charge of the gates, the Comptroller again being entrusted with other duties.

The regulations as to the opening of the gates were extremely strict. They always have in view the possibility of a surprise, and seek to guard against such a contingency. Of the four gates—the Lantern gate, the Milk gate, the Boulogne gate, and the Water gate—as few as possible were opened. The chief of these was the Lantern, which was opened twice on week-days and three times on Sundays and holidays. The first opening was at five o'clock in summer, and in winter "immediately after the first striking down of the watch bell, which is when he may see his mark, to clear the gates of such as will go out". It was then shut during the celebration of mass, opened once more at its close, and again shut until high mass was over. Those who wished to pass out were then allowed to do so, whereupon the gate was immediately closed, "and so remaineth till the watch bell ring to the shutting of the same, and be ceased". This opening and shutting of the gates, the entry and exit of the people from the country round about Calais, must have been an everyday sight to Arthur Hall. No doubt the boy was attracted by the ceremony which was always performed at the opening of the gates, and which incidentally shows what importance was attached to the exits from a fortress. The signal was given in the morning by the striking of the watch bell, this being known as the "striking down". Ten porters, along with a fifer and a drummer and the guard of forty men, assembled in the market-place. When the Master Porter or Gentleman Porter had appeared, they proceeded to the Lantern gate. The porter bearing

the keys was allowed to put the key in the lock of the inner gate but not to turn it until he had orders. The wicket was then opened, and eight porters next opened the middle gate and let down the drawbridge. Followed by the guard, they proceeded to the outer gates. Ten or twelve of the guard were sent out to see if all was clear outside and to keep off those waiting to come in, until those within had passed out, and then the great gates were opened.

The keys were in the charge of the Deputy himself. They were always covered with a cushion when being carried to and fro, so that no one should see the secret of their construction. When done with for the day, they were solemnly deposited in a coffer by the Deputy's bedside.

Half an hour before the gates were closed for the day the watch bell rang, and those who wished to pass out must hasten themselves. Strict watch was kept over all strangers entering and leaving the town. Only burgesses were allowed to take strangers into their houses, and every evening they had to state how many had come in and how many remained from the preceding day. After the ringing of the bell, the tipstaff went round to the various lodgings to see if the declarations were correct. Any host failing to comply with the regulations was heavily fined. If any stranger was found elsewhere than in the regular lodgings, or if he was discovered outside after the ringing of the bell, he was imprisoned. At night numerous watches were placed on the walls, these being strengthened at particular times of the year or during misty weather. The Scout Watch had instructions that if, in the course of their rounds, they met enemies on the wall, they were to throw the keys into the ditches, "if they could not save them otherwise". No one was allowed on the walls after the watch had been set. Anyone appearing there, without having the watchword, was stopped, and, as the regulations significantly add, "if he resist and is killed, the watchmen are not to blame".

In order to see that the other watchmen were performing their duties, a special watch, known as the Search Watch, was appointed. At three in the afternoon, a tipstaff went to the Council Chamber to receive the watchword. "At the latter ringing of the Flemish bell, which hangs under the great hall, two tipstaves met the Search Watch and saw that all were present,

giving them the watchword. The tipstaves then went to the market, and, knocking with their staves upon the stones," reported to the Under-Marshall.

The Search Watch at regular intervals tested the vigilance of the Scout Watch by calling "Round, round," to which the others were expected to reply "Yea, yea" or "Well, well". The instructions to the Search Watch give a hint of the watchmen's little weaknesses. "They shall not tarry by the way, but haste to their own house without playing at dice or other games." Nor were all the watchmen very efficient. "If the search watch find any of the stand watch not having the watchword perfect, he shall instruct him therein." Apparently the Search Watch were not always welcomed by the others, for they were instructed that "If the search watch find any man out of his ward, or using ill language to the search watch, he shall present him". The test of a man's vigilance and the punishment meted out to culprits were curious. "If any of the said search watch find any of the said stand watch sleeping three times in the night, and so take him by the nose, the offender on the next market day shall be handed in a basket over the wall, ten or twelve feet from the water, with a loaf of bread, a pot of drink, and a knife to cut the rope when he will. The dyke keepers must be present with their boat to take him up when he falls. He shall be kept in the strangers' prison till the next market day, and then banished the town for a year and a day."

The herring season was a particularly anxious time for the garrison, on account of the numerous strange fishermen who then resorted thither. A special officer was appointed to search the herring boats of strangers and to take "all their weapons, harness, and artillery," which were returned on their departure. At this time a special watch called the Banner Watch was set, and when the Comptroller with the "spears" and archers under him had charge, the watch turned out with great ceremony. After they had assembled at the market-place at eight in the evening, the trumpeter blew at all four corners as a sign that the Banner Watch had begun. With trumpeter, fifer, and drummer at their head, the watch marched to the Comptroller's house and then proceeded to the Lantern gate. At the chamber on this gate, say the old regulations, "the Banner shall be charged". "He and his spears shall go up on to the leads to see that there

is sufficient light to the lantern, and command the trumpet to blow."

Of all the warlike doings during his early childhood Arthur Hall might have only vague impressions, but the daily aspect of Calais, as it was before the war, and as it persisted afterwards—this was what he could not forget. The market-place, in particular, must have imprinted itself on his memory. Here was the centre of things in Calais, and here the flow of martial life was at the full. Every day a guard stood there, and on market days this was strengthened. A strict watch on all strangers was kept by "the spears with their pages, with their axes, and the archers on horseback". On Easter Day, Arthur Hall's father himself kept watch with his company in the market-place. In addition to the soldiers and the buyers and sellers, here were also found some seeking amusement. Provision was made in the shape of dice, cards, and tables. It was from Calais market-place that Francis Hall wrote on "Schyer Thursday" to Lady Lisle, wishing her a merry Easter, and complaining that Lord Lisle had treated him ill. The market-place was thus the scene of many and varied activities, and men of all ranks and trades made their way thither.

In addition to the Flemings and Frenchmen who brought their goods to Calais, bowyers, fletchers, armourers, and gunsmiths thronged the streets. Ambassadors passing to and from England, spies engaged in ferreting out the weak points of the enemy, wealthy merchants, masters, and workmen of the King's Mint and many a gentleman with his train—these were the sights that met the eyes of the inhabitants of Calais. A young gentleman like Arthur Hall might now and then go beyond the walls to the space outside the Lantern gate, where the games of "hand-out" and "keyles" were played, or ride out hawking, perhaps towards Boulogne, past the gallows and wheel, where the ghastly remains of the spy, traitor, or robber told their terrible tale, and occasionally with his father he might cross the frontier and enter the French Pale on a visit to some French acquaintance like the Sieur de Saint-Martin.

But the greater part of his time would be spent within the walls of Calais. Sights and sounds were not lacking to remind him that he was inside a fortress. Drum, fife, and trumpet continually resounded; of an evening he heard the solemn roar of the

cannon which admonished the strangers to retire to their ships for the night, and in the still hours of the night came the sleepy cry of the watchmen from the walls. Calais had all the warlike interest of a fortress, and, in addition, all the fascination of the centre through which traffic between England and the Continent passed. In these surroundings Arthur Hall grew up until the death of his father.¹

¹ For the above details regarding Calais, see *Cal. State Papers, Hy. VIII, X*, p. 263; *XV*, pp. 277-83; also *Chron. of Calais*, pp. xxix and xli.

CHAPTER III.

ARTHUR HALL BROUGHT UP AS CECIL'S WARD.

THE death of Francis Hall on June 10, 1552,¹ was probably not unexpected, for almost a year before he had been taken seriously ill at Guînes and had made his will there.² From this document we learn that he owned lands in and about Calais and Guînes, in addition to the lordship of "Knoke in Wiltshire,"³ and elsewhere in England. Further details are given by officials of Calais in letters to Sir William Cecil regarding the value of Hall's lands. Sir Richard Cotton reported⁴ that the deceased Comptroller possessed lands in France to the value of £48 3s. yearly, besides 100 acres of pasture ground. The total value of these lands on the French side of the Channel was put down by Sir Maurice Denys at some £52 per annum,⁵ whilst Hall's lands in Lincolnshire were stated by his brother to be worth 200 marks yearly.⁶ The official estimate of the value of these Lincolnshire estates was, however, much higher, *viz.*, £148 9s. 3d.⁷ Apart from his lands, Francis Hall did not leave "any great substance to be accompted of".⁸ He owned, however, a house at Calais, which, with the "stuffe," was afterwards the subject of a petition from Ursula Hall to Cecil, because Lord Grey wished to "have" the same. This "stuffe" was apparently of no great value, for Sir Richard Cotton could find nothing worthy of mention except a chain, which Francis Hall left to be divided amongst his four children.

¹ *Chancery Inquisitions*, Series II, Vol. 96, No. 7.

² On July 20, 1551. See Appendix, p. 174.

³ Probably Knook, a village on the banks of the river Wylye, on the road from Warminster to Salisbury. Hall had acquired this lordship by purchase (see Sir Richard Cotton's letter).

⁴ See Appendix, p. 174.

⁵ See Appendix, p. 175.

⁶ See Sir Richard Cotton's letter.

⁷ *Harleian MSS.*, No. 4135, ff. 33b *et seq.*

⁸ Sir Maurice Denys's letter to Sir William Cecil.

This corresponds to the statement made by Francis Hall in his will that he is not "waxed riche by the service of the Kings Majestie last deceased and of our present mayster, as all men may well knowe, as well for dyvers other consideracons as for the basenes of the money". As a slight reward for his past services, he requested the Privy Council to solicit a favour from the King, "that ytt may please his highness to give the wardeship, maryage, and releef of my saide sonne to my wif, with the thirde part of all suche my landes as otherwise shulde come to the Kings Majestie, during the wardeshippe and noneage of my saide sonne".

If Francis Hall's request ever reached the ears of the King and his counsellors, it was allowed to pass unnoticed, for Sir William Cecil wished to have young Arthur Hall as a ward. His own estates being so near Grantham, and his influence in the whole district so strong, Cecil had an obvious claim, according to the ideas of his time, to occupy the position of Hall's guardian. It was a lucrative source of income, and hence the eagerness which Cecil displays in his correspondence concerning his ward's possessions. His inquiries elicited from Sir Richard Cotton and Sir Maurice Denys the letters we have already referred to. At the inquisition on the lands of Francis Hall in Lincolnshire, Cecil took good care to be represented. The report of his agent shows what pressure could then be brought to bear by a man of influence like Cecil. Edmund Hall, the brother of the late Comptroller, seems to have claimed a lease of certain lands of the dead man, formerly belonging to the guild at Baston. From the account of the proceedings we gather that every one present was overawed by the knowledge of Cecil's interest in the matter. The jury were slow to give their verdict, and though it was ten o'clock at night they asked for another day. "Mr. escheatour, shewing hym self to be your assured ffreand, wold not grant to that and with his perswasion, they retorned to a counsell agayn, and debatyng the matter a great tyme, gave upp their verdict, fyndyng th' office in every poynt as we putt hit in." Cecil could therefore rest content, for he had now Francis Hall's lands under his control, though the "great rabblement off howses in Grant-ham, whiche shall have nede off continuall repaire," were probably a source of less satisfaction.¹

¹ *State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI, XV, No. 21.*

Nor was Cecil slow to take charge of his new ward, though it cost Ursula Hall many a tear to part with her only son. Sir Richard Cotton gave Cecil a moving account of her grief at the loss of her husband, a loss which became doubly painful, when she learnt that her son must leave her. Cotton describes how he tried to console her, by pointing out the advantages for Arthur Hall of being brought up in Cecil's house, whereupon "she at last yielded to forget hir motherlie affection some what," but still insisted on sending a trusty servant across to England with young Arthur. Shortly after Cotton's letter was written, *viz.*, August 8, 1552, Arthur Hall was presumably brought to England, probably first to London and thence to Cotton's house at Warblington, where Cecil was to meet his ward.¹

In the autumn of 1552, then, Arthur Hall became a member of Cecil's household, though the necessary legal formalities were not completed until the following year. On May 10, 1553, Winchester wrote to Cecil that if he would give his sureties to the Clerk of the Wards, the latter would make ready Cecil's book for the wardship of young Mr. Hall.² The boy was now in a very different environment from what he had hitherto known. He was one of those numerous gentlemen who helped to make up the household of an Elizabethan nobleman, a survival of the armed retainers of the Middle Ages. Their duties were to appear with their lord in public and thus add to the splendour of his train. They carried messages for him, and, if necessary, defended his name against the malice of enemies.³ Cecil was noted for the sumptuous style of his housekeeping. About the time Arthur Hall became the ward of Cecil, the latter kept some thirty-six followers who wore his badge and livery.⁴ In later life, when he had risen to the height of his fame, Cecil maintained no less than eighty servants, amongst whom were the best gentlemen in England, and his anonymous biographer tells us that he has "nombred in his (Cecil's) house, attending on the table, twenty gentlemen of his retayners of a thousand pounds *per annum* a peece, in possession and reversion. And of his ordinary men as manie, some worth a thousand pounds, some worth three,

¹ See Appendix, p. 175.

² *State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI, XVIII, No. 22.*

³ George Saintsbury, "Elizabethan Society," in *The Building of Britain*, III, 516-18.

⁴ Martin A. S. Hume, *The Great Lord Burghley*, p. 47.

five, ten, yea, twenty thousand pounds, daiely attending his lordships service." ¹

In 1552 Cecil's means and position did not permit of the lavish expenditure which was necessary for living on this footing, nor could Arthur Hall's income compare with those of his successors in Cecil's service. However, he occupied a privileged position in the Cecil household of this earlier period, chiefly owing to the fact that he was about the same age as Cecil's eldest son Thomas. At this time the sons of wealthy noblemen were not sent to grammar schools, but received tuition at home, and generally a youth was sought out to learn in company with an only son. Thus both Edward VI and Gregory Cromwell were provided with two young friends to toil with them along the path of learning.² Such, then, was the part assigned to Arthur Hall.³ A special degree of intimacy between the two is indicated by the fact that Arthur Hall and Thomas Cecil were generally provided with new clothes simultaneously. So it was that in 1556, when additions were made to Thomas Cecil's wardrobe, his companion received a coat of green cloth, a jerkin of Spanish leather, a doublet, and a cloak.⁴ Again in 1558, no doubt in honour of Christmas or New Year, young Hall was given a cloth nightgown, a doublet, a jacket of satin, and another of grosgrain. On the same occasion, Master Thomas donned for the first time a fasado coat, a fustian doublet, and a grosgrain coat.⁵

¹ Francis Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, I, 24.

² Mary Bateson, "Social Life from 1509 to 1558," in *The Building of Britain*, III, 242.

³ In after life Arthur Hall and Sir Thomas Cecil remained on terms of intimacy. In 1576 Burghley requested Hall, along with two other Lincolnshire gentlemen, to effectuate a reconciliation between Sir Thomas Cecil and Lord Clinton, the son of the Earl of Lincoln, since they were friends of both parties (*Cal. Salisbury MSS.*, Pt. 2, p. 136, item 392). On September 25, 1578, Sir Thomas Cecil wrote to Lord Burghley that he and his wife had been visiting their friends in Lincolnshire, and the letter is written "from Mr. Hall's house by Grantham" (*ibid.*, pp. 205-6, item 603). When Hall published his translation of Homer in 1581, he dedicated it to Sir Thomas Cecil. In the autumn of the following year Hall quarrelled with one of his neighbours, Anthony Thorold, and it was then reported that Hall and Sir Thomas Cecil were going to set Thorold's house on fire, a statement which proved to be incorrect (see p. 101). The above facts show that up to this period the two former comrades in learning had kept together. There seem to be no other documents concerning their relations, but this need not necessarily point to any severance of the connection between them.

⁴ The exact date was July 1556. See Appendix, p. 177.

⁵ *Cal. Salisbury MSS.*, Pt. 13, p. 37. Hall's clothes cost £9 13s. 3d., and those of Thomas Cecil 52s. The tailor's bill is dated January 12, 1557-58.

We know but little of the upbringing of these two young gentlemen. Cecil's anonymous biographer states that the dinner-hour of the household was 11 a.m., before which prayers were said in the chapel and again before supper at 6 p.m. This procedure was always observed, even in Cecil's absence.¹ Nothing else is recorded as to the time-table by which the doings of the two boys were regulated. But we may assume that their occupations did not greatly differ from those of other youths of their class at that time. The whole purpose of their training was to produce an ideal courtier of the type set forth by Castiglione. The latter in Hoby's version lays down that "the principall and true profession of a Courtyer ought to be in feates of armes," and to this end the use of weapons was to be learned at an early date, and skill in all kinds of bodily exercise encouraged. The ideal courtier was also to acquire a knowledge of Latin and Greek, and, amongst modern languages, familiarity with Spanish and French was recommended. Nor had the youth of the Renaissance achieved perfection until he had become something of a musician, playing on the viol and singing to the lute being part of his necessary accomplishments. Finally riding, hunting, hawking, and all kinds of sport were to serve as useful pastimes and as preparations for a warlike career.² The education of most young Elizabethan noblemen was based on these principles, and the training of young Gregory Cromwell was no doubt typical of the instruction received by contemporaries of similar rank. He was taught writing, simple arithmetic, something of ancient history, and the use of weapons. A large part of the day was taken up with playing on the lute and the virginals, or in riding, whilst the tutor went over parts of antique history which his pupil afterwards repeated.³

In later years Hall displayed an intimate knowledge of Greek and Roman history. The names he quotes in his *Letter sent by*

¹ F. Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, I, 24.

² Baldessar Castiglione, *The Courtyer*.

³ Mary Bateson, *op. cit.*, III, 242. When Thomas Cecil was sent to Paris in 1561, his father thought he should be "taught to ride, play the lute, dance, play tennis and use such exercises as are noted ornaments of courtiers". Sir William Cecil's desire that young Thomas should "learn to behave himself, not only at table, but otherwise, according to his estate," seems to indicate that Thomas was a somewhat backward youth (Hume, *The Great Lord Burghley*, pp. 120-21). Whether Hall was more apt than his playmate we have no means of ascertaining.

F. A., and particularly in the *Admonition*, make a formidable array. He was certainly fairly well acquainted with Latin and more especially with the *Æneid*, one or two tags from which he is fond of citing on all occasions. Of Greek, on the other hand, he seems to have known nothing, for he translated Homer from a French version, and does not venture to quote Greek authors in the original. Nor is it sure to what extent Hall's familiarity with Latin authors was based on early knowledge rather than on later reading. As a matter of fact, he does not appear to have taken kindly to the classics, even when recommended by such distinguished persons as Sir William and Lady Cecil. He himself gives us a clue to his feelings as a boy in the *Letter sent by F. A.* There he says, "Marcus Tullius Cicero let me remember you of and of his treatise *de Amicitia*, which, being a boy (as Scollers do), I did vnwillingly acquaint myselfe with". There is consequently some justification for thinking that Hall's real interest in the classics was aroused only when he had reached manhood, even if the foundation was laid somewhat earlier.¹

The study of French, which must have formed part of Hall's curriculum, was possibly more attractive to him. With the advent of the Tudor dynasty, French had begun to play a more prominent part in England, and in 1552 Etienne Pasquier wrote that there was no nobleman's house in England, Scotland, or Germany without its tutor to teach the children French.² In later years, when Hall translated Homer into English with Hugues Salel as medium, he proved himself to possess an excellent knowledge of French, and the copy of Salel which he used was bought by him in 1556, or four years after he had entered Cecil's house. His liking for French may have been stimulated by his early years on the French side of the Channel where he still possessed lands, and perhaps even more by the recollection of his father's skill as a linguist and his intercourse with French

¹ In later years, at any rate, Hall felt nothing but contempt for the popular romances then much in vogue with some people. His tastes were evidently of a more classical nature. Writing about 1579 in the *Letter sent by F. A.*, he says: "I have meruayled oft what the wyters meant, to put to our readings the *Rounde table knights*, *Bevis of Hampton*, the *Knight of the Swanne*, the *fourre sonnes of Amon*, *Amadis*, *Orlando furioso*, *Esplandion*, *il Cavalleire del sole*, and *Orson the Greekes*, *Olgarden the Dane*, and a thousand more such tryfling Fables, yet do I see many men of iudgement read them, some for the tongue, and some for the matter, reape benefite of both".

² Sir S. Lee, *The French Renaissance in England*, pp. 43-4.

nobles like the Sieur de Saint-Martin. However, if we are to judge by Hall's love of sport in after years, this was a more congenial pastime than books, whether French or Latin. Riding, fencing, hawking, and archery were part of his accomplishments at a later period of his life, and these he must have begun to acquire as Cecil's ward, if not before.

On the whole, Arthur Hall could gratulate himself on his surroundings. He was under the protection of Cecil, whose ability was then recognised. After the death of Edward VI in 1553, Cecil took no active part in politics but stood aloof, awaiting a favourable opportunity to gain power by the remarkable sagacity and far-sightedness with which Nature had endowed him. At this juncture, therefore, Cecil would be able to devote more time and attention to his family and ward than would have been the case many years later.

In view of Hall's youth, it would be absurd to attach an exaggerated importance to the influence of Cecil on the mind of his ward. Nevertheless, one cannot help being struck by the respect, almost amounting to veneration, with which Hall in the days of his manhood looked up to his former guardian. This veneration was obviously based on Hall's early impressions, received during his stay in the Cecil family. Even if he was too young to appreciate the wisdom of Cecil's conversation, the sight of his guardian, absorbed in reading when not transacting business, learned and self-controlled, would inspire the boy with natural awe. Cecil's interest in learning was recognised by more than one of his contemporaries. His household biographer tells us that "his recreation was chiefly in his booke, wherewith, if he had tyme, he was more delighted than others with plaie at cards. . . . Or, if he cold gett a lerned man to talk withall, he was as much pleased."¹ Roger Ascham's testimony in the preface to the *Scholemaster* is equally clear: "M. Secretarie hath this accustomed maner, though his head be neuer so full of most weightie affaires of the Realme, yet at diner time he doth seeme to lay them alwaies aside and findeth euer fitte occasion to taulke pleasantlie of other matters, but most gladlie of some matter of learning: wherein, he will curteslie heare the minde of the meanest at his Table".² Cecil's friendship with another celebrated Greek scholar, John Cheke, his marriage to the learned Mildred Cooke,

¹ F. Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, I, 36-7.

² *English Works of Roger Ascham*, ed. Wright, p. 175.

and the warm interest he always took in the well-being of Cambridge are facts too well known to need insisting upon. The enlightenment of both Cecil and his wife tended to create an atmosphere anything but unfavourable to a future translator of Homer.

At that time, however, Arthur Hall was, as we have already indicated, not over susceptible to the charms of learning. Nor is there any need to picture the Cecil household as excessively austere. Cecil's kindness to his children is described by his anonymous biographer. The latter declares that "there was never man more loving nor tender harted," though Cecil was not over demonstrative in his manner. His great joy was to gather children round his board, and "it was an exceeding pleasure to heare what sport he wold make with them, and how aptlie and merrelie he wold talk with them, with such pretty questions and witty allurements as much delighted himself, the children, and his hearers".¹ Another fact which doubtless made a special appeal to the hearts of both Thomas Cecil and Arthur Hall was, that Sir William Cecil was strongly opposed to the use of violence in the education of children. In his opinion, preserved to us by Ascham, many scholars were punished rather for the weakness of Nature than for their own shortcomings, and consequently "driuen to hate learning, before they knowe what learning meaneth".² At a later period, when the conduct of these two scapegraces Arthur Hall and Thomas Cecil might have justified a revision of these opinions, Cecil still maintained his humane and liberal views on education. He advised his younger son Robert to bring up his children in learning and obedience, though without outward austerity and to praise them openly, but reprehend them secretly. "I am perswaded," says Cecil, "that the foolish cockering of some parents and the over-stern carriage of others causeth more men and wemmen to take ill courses then their own vicious inclinations."³

For how many years then did Hall remain in this household whose head cherished the ideal of the golden mean? Did he become a student at one of the universities, or did Cecil keep his young ward under his immediate control until he came of age? As we shall see the latter is more probable, though at least one

¹ F. Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, I, 36.

² *English Works of Roger Ascham*, pp. 175-76.

³ F. Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, I, 48.

authority states that he studied at Cambridge, probably at St. John's College.¹

To the casual reader this might seem quite plausible. For Cecil, romantic memories lingered round St. John's. It was during his student days there that he met and won the sister of John Cheke, and all his life he remained deeply attached to his old college. Thomas Baker speaks of this attachment in the following terms: "To say nothing of his private benefactions, which I have accounted for, the many letters and papers I have seen express abundantly his affection to the house, which he usually styled his beloved college".² If further proof of Cecil's devotion to his old university is required, it is to be found in the fact that he remained Chancellor of Cambridge from 1558 to 1598. Another reason in support of the view that Arthur Hall was sent to St. John's is the great reputation for scholarship which it at one time enjoyed. Ascham tells us that there were "so many learned men in that one College of St. Johns at one time as, I belieue, the whole Vniuersitie of Louuaine in many yeares was neuer able to affourd".³ Nash, himself a St. John's man, bears similar testimony. Speaking of the revival of learning, he declared that it found its most celebrated home at St. John's, which "at that time was as an Vniuersitie within it selfe, shining so farre aboue all other Houses, Halls, and Hospitals whatsoeuer, that no Colledge in the Towne was able to compare with the tythe of her Students".⁴

But about the time when Arthur Hall would have studied there, St. John's was shorn of its former glory. Owing to the confiscation of its estates the college was greatly impoverished, and Thomas Lever's account of the scanty fare on which the students lived and of how, for lack of fire, they were "faine to walk or run up and down half an hour, to get a heat in their feet" before going to bed, speaks for itself.⁵ St. John's also suffered heavily during the political and religious controversies in the reign of Queen Mary. Like other colleges, it was purged of those whose religious views were obnoxious to the government,

¹ Cooper, *op. cit.*, II, 397, does not mention any particular reason for his statement. He merely remarks that Hall *probably* studied at St. John's, but that there is no trace of his graduating.

² Thomas Baker, *History of the College of St. John, Cambridge*, I, 10.

³ *English Works of Roger Ascham*, p. 219.

⁴ Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, 313.

⁵ J. Bass Mullinger, *St. John's College*, pp. 42, 46.

regardless of their merits as scholars. Cambridge, predominantly Protestant as it was, saw itself forsaken by teachers and students alike. Degrees were rarely conferred, and learning was at a low ebb.¹ It is true that about 1550 an influx of rich young noblemen began, but the general tone of the university was such as to repel sober-minded men. Returning there in 1558, the worthy Dr. Caius found the poor, modest, and diligent students of former days gone. They had been replaced by a new generation, who spent their money, not on books, but on dress and the adornment of their chambers, whilst they frequented taverns, gambled, and paraded the town in gaudy garments.² William Harrison, in a passage probably referring to this time, shook his head over these rich men's sons who "ruffle and roist it out, exceeding in apparell and hanting riotous companie (which draweth them from their bookes vnto an other trade). And for excuse, when they are charged with breach of all good order, thinke it sufficient to saie that they be gentlemen, which greeueth manie not a little."³

With the university of Cambridge in the condition we have described, a man of prudent and sober mind like Cecil would doubtless prefer to keep his ward under his immediate care, all the more so as his friends Cheke and Ascham, the pillars of St. John's, were no longer at Cambridge.⁴ Nor does there appear to be the least evidence to show that Hall did actually study at Cambridge. The College Admission Registers of St. John's do not begin until 1630 and can therefore throw no light on the matter, and there is no trace of Hall's taking a degree.⁵ On the other hand, in the dedication of his translation of Homer, he reminds Sir Thomas Cecil of the days when he was "a Scholer with you in my L. your fathers house," and it would

¹ J. Bass Mullinger, *St. John's College*, pp. 32-3, 47, and again the same author in *The University of Cambridge*, II, pp. 49, 88; also the article by W. H. Woodward on *English Universities, Schools and Scholarship in the XVIth Century*, in *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, III, pp. 418-22.

² J. Bass Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge*, II, 98-9.

³ William Harrison, *Description of England in Shakespeare's Youth*, I, pp. 77-8.

⁴ Ascham had in 1550 become secretary to the English ambassador at the Court of Charles V, and from 1553 to 1558 he was Latin secretary to Queen Mary. The fact that Hall knew Ascham in later years and was even encouraged by him to continue his translation of Homer, consequently does not prove that Hall was his pupil at St. John's. Cheke was also gone, first to be tutor to the young King, Edward VI, later to abjure his faith and to die of shame at his recantation.

⁵ John Venn and J. A. Venn, *The Book of Matriculations and Degrees*.

seem that Sir Thomas Cecil was privately educated.¹ Moreover, on one occasion at least, Hall speaks with a certain contempt of the Cambridge man and his training. In the *Letter sent by F. A.*, in the *Admonition*, he denounces the man who enters Parliament merely for his own advancement. Hall, who with all his faults was no sycophant, despises those who toady either to the sovereign or the great nobles, without caring for their country's welfare. He says of such a parasite: "He hath bin forsooth perhap at Cambridge and learned the fragments of a little Sophistrie, wherwith he with his glosing tong and white studied wordes, may moue many well meaning Gentlemen, who for wante of deepe iudgemente may say yea to their own preiudice". This is hardly the tone a man would use in referring to his Alma Mater, and confirms the opinion that Hall was never a student at St. John's College, Cambridge.

On January 12, 1558, we find Hall writing to his guardian for an allowance, either that he might go to France as he and his mother desired, or if wars hindered, to the Inns of Court. His mother was willing to provide £20 or £30 a year towards the carrying out of these intentions.² It was obviously the desire to revisit the scenes of his childhood, and above all anxiety about his lands on the French side of the Channel, which urged Hall to address this letter to Cecil. We may well doubt, however, if the prudent Cecil gave his consent to this step. On June 7 of the previous year, war had been declared between England and France and throughout the winter the French had been advancing on Calais. By the beginning of 1558 the condition of Calais was critical, and on January 2 Mary sent round to her noblemen an appeal for reinforcements for France. But it was too late, and three days after this entreaty Calais surrendered. Although Philip and Mary were very desirous of making an attempt to wrest it from the hands of the French again, the Council feared the costs of an expedition and took no action. With things in France at this pass, we may be sure that Arthur Hall remained in England. Whether he then obtained Cecil's permission to his alternative plan of becoming a student at the Inns of Court is uncertain. His utter aversion to all lawyers, when he reached the age of manhood, may perhaps speak against the realisation of this design.

¹ *D.N.B.*, IX, 404.

² *Cal. Salisbury MSS.*, Pt. I, p. 146, item 552.

CHAPTER IV.

ARTHUR HALL'S COMING OF AGE, MARRIAGE, AND TRAVELS.

IN 1560 Arthur Hall attained his majority, as is indicated by the fact that the will of Francis Hall was proved in London on November 25 of this year. The estates to which young Hall had hoped to succeed had been considerably reduced in extent and value by the loss of Calais. The "lands in the county of Guisnes, in Calais, Mark, or elsewhere on this side the seas," to which Francis Hall referred in his will, had now passed into French hands.¹ Though this must have been a serious blow to Hall, he still possessed valuable lands in Lincolnshire, inherited from his father. Some of these had formerly belonged to the monastery of Sempringham and the nunnery at Stixwold. This purchase was made by Francis Hall in October 1539, and though he sold a part of the same in the following month, yet much remained.² Other lands had also come into Arthur Hall's possession, as we perceive by a letter from George Williams to Cecil in October 1552. "Ther is off late," he writes, "one Jhon Hall, dwellyng besides Grantham, y^e uncle to Mr. Fraunces decessed,

¹ In July 1557, just after the outbreak of the war which led to the loss of Calais, Cecil, as the lessee of Arthur Hall's lands in France, was required to pay £7 to the Council of Calais, this being the sum at which Arthur Hall was assessed, in order to put Sandgate Castle into a state of repair and defence against the French (*Cal. Salisbury MSS.*, Pt. 1, pp. 141-42).

² *Cal. State Papers, Hy. VIII*, XIV, Pt. 2, pp. 159-60, 221. At the time of his death in 1552, Francis Hall held lands and houses in the following places: Londonthorpe, Towthorpe, Easton, Dunsthorpe, Southstoke, Northstoke, Great Ponton, Gonerby, Manthorpe, Belton, Haydor, Aisby, Oasby, Grantham, Ropsley, Harlaxton, Harrowby, Barkston, Honington, Whitton on Humber, Dembleby, Denton, Ashby, Baston, Deeping, Bourn, Thurlby, Bulby, Gretford, Little Bytham, Obthorpe, Aslackby, Langtoft, Houghton, Westhorpe, Barton, Spittlegate, Harebottles. The annual value of this property was £148 9s. 3d. (see *Harl. MSS.*, 4135, ff. 33b-36, and cf. also *Chancery Inquisitions*, Series II, Vol. 96, No. 7). Of all these possessions, Arthur Hall at his death in 1605 held only a certain amount of property in Grantham, Westhorpe, Dunsthorpe, Harrowby, Londonthorpe, and Ropsley, with a total annual value of £48 7s. 8d. (see *Harl. MSS.*, 4135, ff. 476b-77).

also departed, be whos death twenty nobles land is descended to Arthur Hall, your ward." ¹

Arthur Hall could now lead the life of a country gentleman at Grantham when he thought fit. But to retire altogether into the country at his age would have been surprising, since other opportunities lay open to him. He still continued for some years as a follower of his former guardian, Sir William Cecil, who had risen to one of the most prominent positions in the land, thanks to the accession of Elizabeth. His house was the centre where statesman and scholar could meet. It was most likely under Cecil's roof that Hall saw Ascham on that memorable occasion, when the latter urged the young man not to give up his translation. This meeting took place in 1562 or 1563, for Hall tells us in the dedication of his *Homer* (1581) that it was "about eighteen or nineteen yeeres past". Almost about the same time Hall received encouragement from Jasper Heywood, the translator of Seneca. But this could not have been later than 1562, for in May of that year Heywood was admitted to Society of Jesus at Rome.

Hall's personal acquaintance with these two scholars is attested by his own statement. It is improbable that they were the only men of letters whom he knew. Cecil was by way of being a patron of learning, as is shown by his correspondence and the works dedicated to him. Barnabe Googe, whose translation of *Palingenius* was familiar to Hall, was a Lincolnshire man. On leaving the university, he became retainer to his kinsman, Sir William Cecil, and dedicated several books to him. Ascham's widow, filled with gratitude towards her husband's friend and benefactor, dedicated the *Scholemaster* to him. Arthur Golding, who seems to have resided in Cecil's house in the Strand, also dedicated a number of his translations to his patron. Arthur Hall, brought up as a member of Cecil's family, was doubtless acquainted with these and others who frequented Cecil's House.

It must have been a fascinating world which unfolded itself to the eyes of this young Lincolnshire gentleman. As one of the great statesman's followers, he could see the comings and goings of all the chief personages of his day—ambassadors, privy councillors, courtiers, and scholars. By sight, at least, he would

¹ *State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI*, Vol. 15, No. 30.

know most of the brilliant throng who revolved round his former guardian. Nor was Hall a stranger to the Court. About 1564 or 1565 he exchanged Cecil's service for that of the Queen, a step which he in later years regretted. Writing to Cecil on February 26, 1591, he complains that "Her Majestyes servant I have bene these twenty-six or twenty-seven yeares" without reward.¹ From his correspondence, we perceive that Hall was known, though not very favourably, to Queen Elizabeth, incurring her displeasure, with serious consequences to himself, on more than one occasion.

The next event of importance in Hall's life was his marriage, which must have taken place about 1556, for his eldest son, Cecil, was born in the following year. At the time of his father's death in 1605, Cecil Hall was stated to be thirty-eight years of age, which leads us to 1567 as the year of his birth.²

The person whom Arthur Hall married was Mary Dewie, the daughter of a London goldsmith, and it seems likely that one of his purposes in making the match was to replenish his depleted coffers and to bolster up his tottering fortunes. The loss of the lands in France would hardly account for his financial entanglements, and from hints given us at a later period we are inclined to infer that for a few years after his coming of age, Arthur Hall must have squandered his substance in extravagant living. In any case, whatever the cause, we find him writing to Cecil in 1564, complaining of his lack of money. He tells his old guardian how he fears his creditors "of whome, for lakke of satisfying of them, I stand so in doubt as I am not sure in mine owne house". His uncle had given him fair words and promised him silver hills in his behalf, but had never got beyond cheap assurances. Hall seems to have found it particularly irksome to be shut off from social intercourse with his neighbours, and he therefore turns to Cecil in his need. "I besech your honour," he writes, "for gods sake that this my often troubling of youe may not be tedyous and that youe will not be wery therof, for where a man hath but one legg, that one doth bear the whole stey of the bodye. So I ensure your honour, if I had ever a freand,

¹ See Appendix, p. 202.

² *Chancery Inquisitions*, Series II, Vol. 291, No. 36. The pedigree of the Halls, printed in *The Genealogist*, IV, 24, states that Cecil Hall was eight years old in 1575, which corroborates the conclusion arrived at from the above date.

who would but a lyttle seake to ease my mysery and not to spoyle me, as I feare some do, I wold not be so tedyous to youe. But nede hath no lawe, and so I most humbly besech youe to thinke." ¹

Two years later affairs had come to a sorry pass with Arthur Hall, and he was even imprisoned for debt, a foretaste of what awaited him in his old age.² He had therefore very urgent reasons for seeking to repair his fortunes by marrying the daughter of a London goldsmith. Little is known about Hall's wife except that her maiden name was Mary Dewie, for she hardly appears in the documents relating to Hall which have been preserved. However, the will of Margery Dewie, made in 1578, leaves no doubt as to the marriage of her daughter to Arthur Hall. In this document, the dying woman is referred to as "late the wife of Thomas Dewye, Citezen and goldsmith, of London, deceased," and she makes bequests to "Marie Hall, my daughter, the nowe wief of Arthur Hall, Esquier".³

Shortly after the birth of his son, Arthur Hall, pursuing the practice of most fashionable young Englishmen of his day, began a tour on the Continent. His old playmate, Thomas Cecil, had set out on such a journey some years before. With his governor, Thomas Windebank, he arrived at Paris in the summer of 1561, and proceeded to cast to the winds all his father's good advice and prudent exhortation. Whilst his father was urging him to translate French, young Thomas spent his time sightseeing, and waxed eloquent over a fight he had seen at Court between three dogs and a lion. The young scapegrace frittered away his time until the spring of 1562, when his indignant parent charged him with being a "dissolute, slothful, negligent, and careless young man". From Paris, Thomas Cecil proceeded to Antwerp, and thence to Speyer, Heidelberg, and Frankfort, returning home in the spring of 1563.⁴ It may well be that Cecil's travels and

¹ See Appendix, p. 178.

² *Cal. Salisbury MSS.*, Pt. 13, pp. 71-2.

³ Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Register Bakon, No. 11 (see Appendix, p. 186). See also the account of a deed of sale, containing Mary Hall's name, pp. 51-2, 66. In 1561 proceedings were taken against Thomas Dewie, goldsmith, dwelling in Foster Lane, London, for insulting behaviour to the Archdeacon of Westminster in St. Leonard's Church. Dewie was evidently a man of importance in the parish, and the account of his unruly conduct is highly entertaining (see Appendix, pp. 179-80).

⁴ Hume, *The Great Lord Burghley*, pp. 121-25, and also *D.N.B.*, IX, 404.

escapades filled Arthur Hall with a desire to see something of the world also. The roving instincts which lay dormant within him would be quickened by the news of his friend's journey, and now that his marriage had provided him with a fresh store of money, he was able to satisfy his longings for travel. The route he followed is not known with certainty, but the first place he visited was no doubt Calais, which had then passed out of English hands for good. As the scene of his father's activities and burial-place, as the spot where he himself had spent his boyhood, it would be sure to attract him. Now that he was of age and his own master he would hardly fail to carry out his old plan. Did he imitate his acquaintance Roger Ascham who, in 1550, wrote to Edward Raven " . . . Caleti reficimus nos; ego statim circum eo omnem ambitum oppidi, adverto situm, vires, portus: viso Risebank et Newnhambridge, duo fortissima munimenta, et eminus video Ardre, Ginnes, Hammes, et omnem situm sic illius regionis ut nunquam e memoria mea excidere possit?"¹ Did he revisit those lands once his and now in the possession of the French? This we shall never know, for of the letters Hall must have written to his family, nothing seems to have been preserved.

Nevertheless, we may form some idea of the route he took from references in his *Letter sent by F. A.* This F. A., which is only a pseudonym for Arthur Hall, tells the friend to whom the letter is nominally addressed, "I ranne to gaze upon Fraunce and knew not Kent: I vewed Spayne, and neuer was in Deuonshyre: exactly (as I thought) I iudged of Italie, and neuer traueyled Wales: I came home by large Germanie, wherein I supposed I had a pretie sight, and yet not able to wade with you how the poore kingdome of Man is sited".

All this has very much the air of personal reminiscences. The reference to his ignorance of the south and west of Britain corresponds to what might be expected of a Lincolnshire gentleman at a time when roads were bad and travelling difficult. So if Hall is really in earnest in stating his knowledge of Britain, the countries mentioned may well be those visited by our traveller. From France he may have proceeded to Spain, though the hostility of the Inquisition made it almost impossible for an ordinary Englishman to travel there. However, one of his

¹ *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, ed. Giles, II, 211.

letters appears to indicate that he had acquaintances in Madrid, whose presence might explain his journey to Spain. In 1566 he wrote to one Thomas Parker, in all probability the brother of Archbishop Parker, concerning certain debts which Hall had been unable to meet but was hoping to settle at an early date. Both Thomas Parker and one named Hoggins, to whom Hall was at that time indebted, had their abode at Madrid.¹ This part of the journey, though far from improbable, is, however, merely hypothetical.

More definite information is at our disposal concerning the Italian part of Hall's tour. In a passage of the *Letter sent by F. A.*, the latter, writing to a friend, mentions Arthur Hall "whose companie at Padoa, the yeere 1568, you once were gladde of, and thought it a contented meeting, whiche happened in that towne betweene you two, I in companie, at Antenors tombe". And a little later, he says of Hall, "your selfe is witsesse of his dealings at Rome, at Florence, in the way betweene that and Bollonia, and at Bollonia it selfe, the yeere aboue named". Hall is silent as to the nature of these "dealings," but we may have a shrewd suspicion that they would scarcely have won the approval of his grave guardian Sir William Cecil.

In a letter to Cecil from Venice in August 1568, Hall gives an account of his doings in Italy, which supplements the information already culled from the *Letter sent by F. A.* He appears to have started from Venice in the spring of 1568 and to have proceeded to Ferrara. In this city, where the intellectual life of the Renaissance still flourished, Hall was struck by the esteem in which the Duke Alfonso was held, and he pays a warm tribute to his enlightened rule. Leaving Ferrara he turned towards the Adriatic, and passing through Faenza, Cesena, and Rimini, he arrived at Pesaro. Of the Duke of Urbino, Guidobaldo II, Hall tells us that he is "a man favored of all men, whose revenue being smale, can make no great shewe," but he says nothing as to this ruler's patronage of the ceramic art.

From Pesaro, Hall began to direct his steps towards Rome. He passed through Nocera, Foligno, Spoleto, Terni, and Narni, and then descended from the mountains into the Campagna. Here he tells Cecil that "in six or seven skore miles compase is not almost one house". Hall admits that it is a fruitful corn-

¹ *Cal. Salisbury MSS.*, Pt. 13, pp. 71-2.

growing country, but the desolation seems to weigh on him. He therefore regards ruined Rome, standing in the midst of this solitude, as "a fytt brotch to sett in such a capp".

Hall's description of Rome is one more melancholy testimony to the terrible destruction wrought by the German and Spanish troops of the Emperor in 1527. Almost a generation had passed since the sack of Rome, but the traces of those horrors had not vanished even in Hall's day. "Yt maye wel be readd and understode by bookes," he says, "that Rome hath bene well inhabited, fayre builded and great, but I see not the same. Some old ruines remayne, some fallen, some falling, and all loke as they would shortly fall. Many pillers remaine of Purferey (*i.e.*, porphyry) and marble in diverse places, both mervelous great and fayre, which accepted, I see nothing praise worthy." As Hall gazed at the ruins of Rome, he could form little idea of the splendour which had prevailed there under Sixtus IV and his successors. The glory of those artistic and learned circles, over whose dispersion Bembo, Sadoletto, and Erasmus had lamented, was also faded. Small wonder then that Hall saw in Rome nothing but a city of ruins.

Nor was the then occupant of the Holy See concerned as to the restoration of the brilliant artistic and intellectual life of the past. Pius V was he who excommunicated Queen Elizabeth and threatened to depose the Emperor Maximilian II, in case he granted toleration to the Protestants. He manipulated the Inquisition with cruel severity, and attempted to stem the immoral tendencies of the time. Hall's description of Pius and his policy corresponds to what we know from other sources. He pictures the Pope as a tall and lean figure weighed down by age. The assiduity of Pius in attending church and his zeal in religious matters were noticed by our English traveller. Referring to the measures of Pius against the prevailing laxity of morals, Hall says: "The Curtesanes of Rome he hath confyned into a corner by themselves uppon paine that they go not abroad". As a result of the papal severity and simplicity, "all the gentlemen," says Hall, "are gone from Rome, in so much as in every streat many houses are voyde, wherfore the Romans crye out of him".

Only by a hair's breadth did Hall himself escape a taste of the Pope's stern rule. He was not far removed from making the

acquaintance of the "newe whytt house . . . called the inquisition house," which Pius V had erected. For this he had to thank a number of Catholic Englishmen in the English hospital at Rome, who denounced him as a heretic. On his return to Rome from Naples, which was the next place of note visited by Hall, he protested warmly against this treatment by his fellow-countrymen. It was therefore resolved to dispel mutual suspicions and dissatisfactions at a dinner. From Hall's account, however, it would seem that the experiment was not a complete success. Such language was used about the English Government and such irreverent remarks passed about Queen Elizabeth, that Hall felt obliged to intervene. He claimed to have stopped their mouths, but it is evident that his relations with the exiled Catholics at Rome were rather strained. Yet it is only fair to add that he was on friendly terms with George Neville, the brother of Sir Henry Neville, and with Dr. Knott, a pensioner of the King of Spain and at one time counsellor to the Countess of Northumberland. More especially Hall pays a tribute to the courteous treatment he received at the hands of Goldwell, formerly Bishop of St. Asaph, and the last of the old English bishops to proffer allegiance to Rome.¹

Hall's account of Rome is followed by a brief description of Naples, which he appears to have found somewhat disappointing. "In the pleasaunt and commodious sited towne of Naples I sawe no such beuty as I thought I should have done and I can commend nothing therof but the situation." Beyond mentioning the fact that on Corpus Christi Day he saw four or five hundred well-mounted gentlemen, Hall is silent as to his doings here. For Cecil's edification he adds that the Spaniards were continually trying to escape from the kingdom of Naples and from Sicily, so that a strict watch had to be kept. Travelling was attended with great difficulty at that time, on account of the numerous bands of robbers with which the kingdom of Naples was infested. To travel alone was to court disaster, and even in company the sixteenth century tourist was far from safe. On leaving Naples, Hall had a narrow escape from these brigands, for the same afternoon, two companies, less than a mile ahead of his own, were stopped and plundered.

¹ For an account of the English Catholics at Rome in the sixteenth century, see Lewis Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England*, pp. 373-85.

His return to Rome evidently took place in June, for on his arrival the first news he heard was that Egmont and Hoorn had been executed. The way in which Hall wrote to Cecil on this subject shows the indignation he felt at this unnecessary severity towards those who had indeed at one time sided with the party in the Netherlands hostile to Spanish rule, but who, by their withdrawing from the extremists and their confidence in the Duke of Alva, had deserved a better fate. Nor was Hall's indignation an isolated phenomenon. The news, he informs us, "was so taken of the papistes them selves, as they cryed out shame of king Phillip and the duke, and such as were well willers of his prosperite wishe him all the mischiefe they maye and not onely in most partes of Italy, but in very Rome".

Bidding farewell to Rome, Hall passed through Viterbo, doubtless tested the fame of the wine of Montefiascone, and leaving Aquapendente he arrived at Siena. This city, rich in monuments of mediæval and Renaissance art, and reminiscent of the old feuds between Guelphs and Ghibellines, had in 1555 been vanquished by its rival Florence and incorporated in that state. Cosimo I, of the younger line of the Medici, ruled with a rod of iron to prevent any attempt to overthrow him either in his own city of Florence or in the newly conquered Siena. He had in 1564 resigned the government to his eldest son Francesco I, of whom Hall has nothing but evil to report. At Siena, he says, "the dukes tyranny so kepes the inhabitants under, as yt semeth a thing without life, for they are skarse able to lyve, they paye him such monstrous gabelles for every thing". Hall's experiences at Florence only served to increase his dislike of the duke, whose rule, he tells us, "is such as the Florentines curse him, strangers raile of him, and no one can foud him a good worde. Such serching comming into the towne, as he seames to feare fyer brought in to bourne his cite, and going out, lest men steale the towne with them." The above outburst shows clearly enough how little the methods of Cosimo's officials appealed to our liberty-loving Englishman. For the city itself, however, he had nothing but praise. He declared it to be comparable with the fairest he had seen in Italy, and to be preferred before them all with the exception of Venice.

Leaving Florence, Hall passed through Bologna, and so to Ferrara once more, thence to Padua with its thriving university,

and finally to Venice. Of his escapades in Italy, Hall wisely betrays nothing to Cecil in this letter. The whole tone of the epistle, largely preoccupied with political conditions as it is, reminds us that he was writing in great measure to supply Cecil with information which might interest him. Consequently, the letter cannot be regarded as a complete expression of Hall's interests and adventures. If he says nothing of art or literature, it does not necessarily mean that Hall was indifferent to the part which these had played in Italy during the early Renaissance and which they still played at the time of his journey.

On his arrival at Venice on July 10, 1568, Hall found the city all excitement on account of the Turks. Rumours were afloat which caused continual nervousness, so that when Hall wrote in August, the Venetian forces had already been armed and disarmed two or three times that very year. Our traveller saw Venice when she had passed the zenith of her glory. The discoveries of the Portuguese and of Christopher Columbus had damaged her trade, and the greed of the European Powers had diminished her territorial possessions. The Turks were, however, the most threatening of all the enemies of the Venetian republic. Hall's stay coincided with the making of great preparations for a deadly blow at the sea power of the Turks, whose gradual growth westwards was the haunting fear of the Doges. In 1568 Hall reported that the Turks had come to Corfu and even further west with 130 galleys. The large number of horses on board led to an expectation of a landing in Calabria or Apulia. On August 1, the Venetians therefore began to hire soldiers, and about a week after the writing of Hall's letter thirty galleys were to be despatched to sea, forty more to follow if required. To which Hall remarks: "They are a state much envied here in Italy". Only three years later, if Hall could have foreseen it, the Venetians and their allies were to gain victory over the Turks at Lepanto, and the Turkish power at sea was to be broken for ever.¹

It was under these conditions of warlike preparation, when a rupture between Venice and Turkey seemed likely at any moment, that Hall thought fit to go to Constantinople. In his letter to Cecil, he states that Marco Antonio Barbaro was about

¹ For an interesting account of Elizabethan Englishmen and Venice, see Charles Hughes in *Shakespeare's England*, I, 216.

to set out for Constantinople to take up the position of Venetian ambassador there. As Barbaro had formerly been at the French Court, Hall had presented letters of introduction from Cecil to the French ambassador at Venice, in order that the latter might persuade Barbaro to take this Englishman with him. Although some difficulty was expected with the Doge and the Signory on account of Hall's nationality, a letter written to Cecil shows him to be confident that about August 13 or 14 he would start with Barbaro for the Turkish capital.¹

This anticipation was destined to remain unfulfilled. On August 21, Sir Henry Lea, the English ambassador at Venice, wrote that Hall was about to depart. "The beste mence for his Jorne," he goes on, "he hathe myste, for that the umbassoter whych went from thys statte wold by no mence admyte any stranger in to his compene." Lea was good enough to add that he heartily wished Hall's speedy return, "for that he apperath bothe to be of a very good natur, and not ingnorant".²

One would like to believe that it was his interest in the men of Troy that led Hall to extend his journey so far east, and this may well have been *one* of his motives. But his chief reason was no doubt to see something of the terrible Turks before whom Venice quailed. He felt the stir of coming events, and as Arthur Young set out for France on the eve of the French Revolution, so Hall now made his way to Constantinople.

He seems to have returned to England about the beginning of 1569. In a letter, the signature of which is torn off, addressed to the Countess of Salisbury from London, in January 1568 (*i.e.*, 1568-69), we are told, "I do heare that Mr. Gorge is com out of Hungary. . . . Mr. Arther Hall is also returned from Constantinople."³ As to the route he took we have little to guide us. He may have passed through Hungary, like the above-mentioned Mr. Gorge, and so across "large Germanie," which F. A., in his *Letter*, declared he had seen, and thence homewards.

Hall's absence had lasted between a year and eighteen months. As he was at Naples on Corpus Christi Day, 1568, and had already done a considerable amount of travelling, it seems reason-

¹ For Hall's letter to Cecil, see Appendix, pp. 180-84. ² See Appendix, pp. 184-85.

³ Edmund Lodge, *Illustrations of British History, Biography and Manners, etc.* II, 8.

able to suppose that he started from England early in that year, or perhaps even more probably in the autumn of 1567. Though we lack complete details as to his travels, yet we may be sure that they had widened his horizon, and whilst reviving old interests, the journey had created new worlds and possibilities for him. Hall had now seen some of the greatest countries in Europe, with great probability the splendour of Spain, and with certainty the material prosperity and artistic wealth of the Italian cities. At Constantinople he had rubbed shoulders with the Turk and felt the glamour of the East. His pilgrimage through Italy had refreshed his classical learning, and lent the gods of antiquity new life. Achilles and Agamemnon, Hector and Paris would no longer be bookish figures, but heroes of flesh and blood. All he had seen and heard in Italy could not but kindle a flame of enthusiasm for the Renaissance within him. It is obvious that Arthur Hall's travels were of the highest importance for his literary activity. They served to keep alive his interest in the classics, which he might otherwise have relegated to the lumber-room.

CHAPTER V.

ARTHUR HALL ENTERS PARLIAMENT: HIS LIFE IN LONDON.

HALL'S stay abroad may have fostered in him the love of the classics, but it is permissible, in the light of later events, to wonder if these travels were beneficial in all respects. To judge by the hints given in the *Letter*, they rather developed than checked his wild and turbulent disposition. Fynes Morison, in his *Itinerary*, maintains "that so many homebred Angels returne from Italy no better than Courtly Diuells," and though one hesitates to class Hall under the latter head, yet his conduct after returning home left much to be desired in the way of restraint and sobriety. Perhaps Lord Burghley had Arthur Hall in mind amongst others, when he warned his son Robert against sending his children to Italy. "Suffer not thy sonnes to pass the Alpes, for they shall learn nothing there, but pride, blasphemy, and atheism. And if by travell they gett a few broken languages, that shall profit them nothing more than to have one meat served in divers dishes."¹

The complaint of Roger Ascham about the evil influence exercised on young men of fashion by these tours in Italy is well known, and even if Hall was not one of those "Englishmen Italianated" to whom the proverb "*Inglese italianato e un diavolo incarnato*" could with justice be applied, he was anything but a model of the plain and sedate living expounded by Ascham. Of course, the latter could never have seen Hall after the return of our traveller, for the old scholar died in 1568. This was perhaps just as well, for Hall's subsequent career, marred by excesses and violence, could not but have grieved Ascham, even though he was not on the most intimate footing with the future translator of Homer. The day was not far distant when Hall's wild doings led to his being charged with

¹ F. Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, I, 48.

such malice and implacability, that he followed his revenge "with an Italian mynde learned at Rome".¹

For the moment, however, the less amiable side of Hall's nature was in abeyance. His domestic life brought care and sorrow. His second child, Joan, baptised on November 19, 1570, was buried at Grantham on July 30, 1571. The same year, which bereft Hall of his daughter, brought him a fresh affliction. His second son, Arthur, who was christened at Grantham on November 4, 1571, was an idiot.²

Even before these sad happenings, Hall had entered on a new sphere of activity. He was now an independent man of thirty-two, though not wealthy, yet not without means, a person of rank, who did not lack polish and knowledge of the world. In addition to the duties of a follower of the Queen, he now took up the work, none too onerous in those days, of a member of Parliament, being elected for the borough of Grantham on April 2, 1571. The long-standing connection of the Halls with the town, and the fact that one of the family had formerly represented Grantham, combined with the strong local influence of Cecil to make the election an easy task. The same considerations led to Hall's re-election on May 8, 1572, to the fourth Parliament of Elizabeth. Under Cecil's protection, Arthur Hall might have achieved something, but through his imprudent frankness, he soon found himself at loggerheads with his fellow-members over a matter which just then was a subject of passionate discussion throughout the realm.

The question was what should be done with Mary, Queen of Scots, and the Duke of Norfolk. When Mary fled to England in 1568, the Duke of Norfolk formed the plan of marrying the fair refugee. He was arrested but released upon pledging his fidelity, only to be cast into the Tower in the autumn of 1570 on a charge of high treason. This was followed by his trial and condemnation in January 1572.

Matters had reached this pitch when Parliament met in May. It saw quite clearly that as long as Mary was alive, there could

¹ See the *Letter sent by F. A.*

² *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, ed. Maddison, Harl. Soc., Vol. 51, pp. 440-42; Larken's *MS. Lincolnshire Pedigrees* at the College of Arms, Vol. 2, p. 185 *et seq.*, and *Grantham Parish Register*. In *MSS. Harl.*, No. 1233, fol. 118, we are told that Arthur Hall, aged four in 1575, sometimes called the eldest son, was "an innocent".

be no end to the plotting against Elizabeth. To restore peace and quiet in the land, Parliament therefore demanded that Mary should be tried on a charge of high treason, "and therein to touch her, as well in life, as in title and dignity". But Elizabeth refused to move against one who had claimed her protection, however dangerous to the realm the fair refugee might be. Parliament could not thwart the Queen's wishes, but urged the death of Norfolk with all the more vigour. On May 16 a resolution was passed, demanding the execution of the condemned Duke.

During these discussions Arthur Hall had not been silent. On May 17, 1572, the day after the resolution against Norfolk had been carried, the House of Commons ordered Arthur Hall to appear at the bar of the House on a charge of having made sundry lewd speeches, used as well in the House as also abroad elsewhere. All persons who had noted his words in writing, either in or out of the House, were commanded to assemble in an upper chamber, put what they had heard in writing, and deliver their testimony to the Speaker. Two days later, Hall, being brought to the bar by the Serjeant, was charged on seven different counts. He had been bold enough to oppose the will of the vast majority of his fellow-members in regard to the Duke of Norfolk and Mary, Queen of Scots. Hall was therefore charged with having made the following statements:—

1. When the Scottish Queenes title is cutt off, where is our assurance?
2. That the offence of the duke is but private to her Majesty and toucheth not us, and so [we] are not to deale in it, but leave it to her self.
3. To move the Howse to surcease dealing in the matter; he alleaged for perswasion that the harme was not yet donne.
4. Yow will hasten the execucon of such whose feet hereafter yow would be glad to have againe to kisse.
5. Mr. Norton speaketh of cutting downe of busshes—he meaneth of two great Princes, the Queen of Scotts and the duke of Norfolk: when they be cutt downe, where is ever a bush to hyde us then?
6. The practizes, wherein the Duke of Norfolk dealt, such as peradventure were not hurtfull to the Queen or the Realme.
7. He tearmed the execucon of the duke extremity and rigour of Lawe.¹

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic, Eliz.*, 1581-90, p. 5, states that the date of these seven articles is 1581. This is incorrect. The original document, *State Papers, Domestic, Eliz.*, Vol. 147, No. 52, has on fol. 1 the above seven articles but undated. On fol. 2, in the same handwriting, is an account of the charges brought against Hall, in 1581, and on fol. 18 verso we read, "a note of words

Hall declared his submission to the House and confessed his folly, both in regard to these seven articles and his other rash speech at the bar. After the Speaker had administered a severe reprimand to him, he was discharged.¹ In this case as later in others, Hall displayed remarkable fearlessness in expressing his opinion. He never shrank from saying what he thought, even at risk to his own person or interests. On this occasion his protest availed nothing, but one cannot restrain a feeling of admiration at his boldness in championing so unpopular a cause.

Some years later, in the *Letter sent by F. A.*, Hall set forth how the member of Parliament should do his duty to his country without fear of what the King, the great nobles, or anyone else might say. He is to have the courage of his opinions and do what he thinks right and proper. "Qui vadit planè vadit sanè," says Hall. His ideal of the parliamentary representative is not the servile creature of a graciously condescending sovereign, but a man of independent views. "Take this matter in hande Virginlike," he tells us, "in the simplenesse of your minde, and well meaning of all things. Take heede of two faces in one hooede: deale with reuerence to the prince, with duty of betternesse to the Lords, and with waking care with your fellowes. I may not deny but perchaunce some Prince may be willing to procure the passing of a law more beneficiall in particular to him selfe, than pleasaunt to those who are represented in your house. And also the nobility may do the like in their own causes: may you not duetifully repugne such demaundes? may you not argue the inconuenience is like to

uttered in parliament by Mr. Hall—180 Eliz." This is clearly incorrect also. Evidently when Hall was brought before the House of Commons in 1581, the matter of his speeches in 1572 was recalled and a note of the charges brought against him on both occasions was made.

¹D'Ewes, *A Compleat Journal of the House of Lords and House of Commons*, pp. 207, 212, under dates May 17 and 19, 1572. Hall's sympathy for Mary, Queen of Scots, and the Duke of Norfolk may perhaps be explained by the fact that he had leanings towards the older faith, in spite of his upbringing in the Protestant household of Cecil. Thus of his enemy Mallory's death, Hall says in the *Letter sent by F. A.*: "He departed well leanyng to the olde Father of Rome, a dad whome I haue heard some say M. Hall doth not hate". But in religious matters Hall was decidedly tolerant as we see from his words elsewhere in the *Letter*: "And tho there be many other points which particularly might be recited touching religion, yet in the loue and feare of god and the Charity towards a mans neighbour I conceiue al other branches to hang".

ensue? may you not diswade? may you not boldly yeelde your no? Yes assuredly, and incur no displeasure at al. And although you may bee frowned on by the Prince and others, yet they will knowe you well enough, commende you in secrete, gladde to win you to imploy in seruice, iudge you wise, honest, and one worthy to be trusted, and not a Butterfly, a sixe weekes Birde: Wheras if you follow their humors, if their turnes be serued, if you play the hireling, they perhap will smyle vpon you for the time, neuer trust you, but in the ende shake you off. Princes be glad of traytours of their enemies subiectes: Yet what Prince would haue any of his owne people so? or will trust the others in any action, but to serue a present turne?" Such were the principles which Arthur Hall laid down for the guidance of the member of Parliament, and in this case, at least, there was no discrepancy between his theory and his practice.

In order to be near the Court, and in a much less degree to perform his duties as member for Grantham, Arthur Hall was obliged to spend a considerable portion of his time in London. The situation of his dwelling is obscure, for in his letters as a rule he speaks only of "my lodging". In writing to Burghley in 1584, however, he addresses his letter from "Sylver Streate," and two years later he is in Garter Lane.¹ But there can be little doubt that he had removed, and in the period down to 1580, he appears to have lived somewhere near St. Paul's. In the description of his doings in the *Letter sent by F. A.*, Hall seldom leaves the City, and his chief resorts seem to be hard by St. Paul's and Paternoster Row. From one passage, it might even be inferred that his home was in the latter street. Wishing to avoid his creditors in Cheapside, he "toke Sainte Martines the next way from Bishops gate to Pater noster Row".

Another document exists, however, which leads us to Foster Lane, near St. Paul's, in search of Hall's lodging. In a bill of sale, dated February 14, 1579 (*i.e.*, 1580, new style), which is dealt with later² in full, we find Arthur Hall selling a house "in

¹Stow mentions Silver Street as being in Cripplegate Ward. He thinks it is so called from the silversmiths living there, and in it "bee divers fayre houses". It is evidently not far from Foster Lane, where, as we shall see, Hall first lived (*cf. A Survey of London by John Stow*, ed. Kingsford, I, 291, 299, 304, 306; II, 344). In 1604 Shakespeare resided in Silver Street with Christopher Mountjoy, a Huguenot refugee (*cf. Sir S. Lee, A Life of William Shakespeare*, pp. 276-78).

²See p. 66.

Foster Lane, in the Parish of St. Leonard,¹ in the City of London". This messuage had undoubtedly been in the possession of Hall's father-in-law, Thomas Dewie. When the latter, in 1561, was charged with improper behaviour towards the Archdeacon of Westminster, in the above-mentioned church of St. Leonard's, he was described as dwelling in Foster Lane. Moreover, in the course of his heated dispute with the archdeacon, Dewie said "yf you will know wher I dwell, putt your hedd thorough the wall, and yow shall see".² Similarly, the will of Margery Dewie, in 1578, speaks of her as being "of the perishe of St. Leonardes in foster lane in London," and the house, in accordance with her desire, passed into the possession of Arthur and Mary Hall on the death of their mother.

It seems to have been handsomely furnished, for with it were sold "all the wainscott ceiling and hangings, and all other goods and implements thereto belonging". In the deed of sale, it is not expressly stated that Arthur Hall had lived there, but it hardly seems likely that he owned two such costly lodgings in London. On the whole, then, we cannot go far wrong in assuming that he resided in Foster Lane, and that circumstances (lack of money, as we shall afterwards show) compelled him to sell his house.

From the details given by Stow,³ we can reconstruct something of the appearance of Foster Lane in Hall's time. At the Cheapside end, there were two churches. One of these, St. Leonard's, on the west side, was built after the destruction of St. Martin's under Edward VI. The other, on the east side, is called St. Fauster's by Stow, which seems to be a popular form of the still existing St. Vedast's. A little higher up stood the Goldsmiths' Hall, and as Arthur Hall's property was originally in the possession of a goldsmith, and was sold in 1580 to another goldsmith, it may have been near the assembly-room of their guild. Somewhat further on in Foster Lane was Bacon House, occupied by the family of the same name, with whom Lord Burghley's second wife was connected.

The presence of the goldsmiths and the Bacon family in the

¹ A church in Aldersgate Ward, destroyed in the Great Fire, and not rebuilt. Part of the Post-Office in St. Martin's-le-Grand occupies the site (see *Handbook of London*, by P. Cunningham, p. 285).

² See Appendix, p. 179.

³ *Op. cit.*, I, 303-6, 311-12, 314-16.

same street reminds us that London meant little more than the City, and hence the possibility of courtier and tradesman being neighbours. This particular quarter of the goldsmiths was celebrated in the time of Elizabeth. Their timbered houses with pointed roofs rose several storeys high. From top to bottom they were painted and gilded, whilst in the shop windows below, cups, goblets, plates of gold and silver, and jewels of all kinds made a brilliant display.¹

Yet Hall had other and less agreeable neighbours than the goldsmiths. In the London of Elizabeth there was the same curious juxtaposition of riches and poverty as in our own time. No further away than St. Martin's, within a stone's throw of his own door, he had a colony of doubtful characters. After the dissolution of the religious houses, the collegiate church of St. Martin's was razed to the ground, and in its stead a kind of Alsatia was established. Its inhabitants, mostly makers of counterfeit goods, prized it very highly on account of the privilege of sanctuary, which they long continued to enjoy there.² Without doubt, such a community formed a serious public danger. That the streets of London were not safe at that period is shown by a proclamation of the Lord Mayor, issued about 1570. "There had been great frays and fightings, and murders too, committed in and about the city, by cudgels, called bastinadoes, and other weapons." It was forbidden to carry these cudgels and to draw weapons.³

Hall seems to have plunged into the dissipations of the metropolis and to have led anything but a staid or sober life, the *Letter sent by F. A.* giving much information as to his movements and way of living. In accordance with the custom of the Londoners who, whatever their rank, dined at the ordinary and supped at the tavern,⁴ Hall makes his pilgrimage from one inn to the other. Sometimes he goes to Mistress Arundel's, "the old and honorable ordinary table . . . of England," which was in the vicinity of St. Paul's. On other occasions, we find him at James Lumelius's in Bishopsgate Street, at John Croke's in Whitecross Street, at Robert Philipson's in Lothbury, at the

¹ J. J. Jusserand, *Histoire Littéraire du peuple Anglais*, pp. 270, 272.

² P. Cunningham, *Handbook of London*, p. 529.

³ John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, II, Pt. 1, p. 29.

⁴ Mary Bateson, "Social Life," 1584-1603, in *Building of Britain*, III, 784.

Horse's Head in Cheapside, or again at Worme's near Fleet Bridge, or at the Pope's Head in Lombard Street.¹

From the *Letter* we can also trace Hall as he walks along Cheapside, St. Martin's, Paternoster Row, or down Ludgate Hill. He went to stroll in St. Paul's in accordance with the custom of those days. An occasional lawsuit required his presence at Newgate or the Guildhall. Now and then he made his way to Court or to Parliament, although from what we know of the life he led, it seems unlikely that he was over assiduous in his attendance at the House of Commons. With the exception of a visit home or at the country house of some friend, he seems to have spent a large portion of the leisure, which his duties as a follower of the Queen allowed him, in the taverns of the City. At John Croke's, "where there is a bowling alley of y^e half bowle," he could indulge his love of sport. To a devotee of archery and fencing like Hall, these pastimes would make a greater appeal than the labours of a legislator at Westminster. Of an evening he had ample opportunity to play at dice with his boon companions in the taverns they frequented. As may be seen from the *Letter*, he did not fail to make good use of his opportunities.

¹ Of all these taverns we have been able to trace only one, that of the Pope's Head, for in practically all other cases, Hall gives the name of the owner and not the sign. We have read the lists of inns given in Thomas Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece*, where the Roman Valerius, by a delightful anachronism, enumerates the most popular inns of London (*Dramatic Works*, V, 198). A second list is to be found in the *Festive Songs principally of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. William Sandys, Introduction, pp. xliii-xlvi, and other inns are mentioned by Sir Walter Besant, *London in the Time of the Tudors*, pp. 336-41. Finally, we have consulted Th. Vatke, *Culturbilder aus Alt-England*, pp. 152-70.

However, amongst the multitude of taverns in Elizabethan London (in 1633 there were 211 for a population of 300,000) it would be useless to try and identify those haunts of Hall's where the owner's name alone is mentioned.

As for the Pope's Head, it was old even in Hall's time. The first mention of it occurs in a wager made there between an Alicant and an English goldsmith in 1464. In 1669 Pepys notes going there to see its fine painted room. It was here also that in 1718, Quin, the famous actor, killed a comedian, Bowen, in self-defence. The Pope's Head was in existence under the same name as late as 1756 (see P. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 404).

CHAPTER VI.

ARTHUR HALL'S QUARREL WITH MELCHISEDECH MALLORY.

IT was on such an occasion, and in such surroundings as we have just referred to, that Hall became involved in a quarrel which had the most serious consequences for him. On December 16, 1573, some eighteen months after his speech in the House of Commons had led to a severe censure by the Speaker, he entered on a dispute with one Mallory, which in the end brought him into disgrace and cast a shadow over the rest of his life. On the day in question, he betook himself to the inn of Robert Philipson in Lothbury. It was there that the quarrel broke out. Most of our knowledge about its origin and development is derived from the account given by Hall himself in the *Letter sent by F. A.* He supped at the inn with Melchisedech Mallory, who seems to have been a decayed gentleman reduced to living on his wits, a number of London merchants also being present. Supper ended, the dice-box was brought and play began. They had not thrown all round before Mallory accused one of the players of cheating, "who either for quietnesse sake, or for other cause, made smal replye". When Mallory repeated the charge with much violence Hall intervened, but was rebuffed by the other, who declared he would maintain what he said, against any man. "Wherupon Hal tickled, sware, as he will not sticke to lende you an othe or twoo, that for hys gallant challenge, it were a good deede (being no greater a man, for he was but little as you know), to throw him oute at the window." Daggers were drawn, and, as Hall puts it, "Etna smoked," but the landlord and the other guests intervened to patch up a truce between the two brawlers.

It was only temporary, however. Hall was not a man to forgive easily. Beneath the surface the fire of hostility smouldered, and before long burst into flame again. In the month of February 1574, he was warned by his friend Master

Richard Drake, a gentleman in the service of the Earl of Leicester, to be cautious at play, on account of the tricks practised. Drake added that he thought Mallory was "a man to be doubted off". To which Hall answered: "In truth, yesternight he trode on my foote, I being at Mawe at Mistresse Arundel's . . . but what he ment therby I know not, I thinke no euil". Some weeks later, on March 8, Hall with Drake, Mallory, and others had been at John Croke's in Whitecross Street. Hall having gone on ahead to his lodging, the others fell to talking of card tricks. Drake denounced those who professed to be gentlemen and associated with such, but were themselves mere cheats and sharpers. On Mallory's remarking it were well such a rogue should be known, Drake said Mallory was suspected to be one of the number. He referred to what Hall had told him, though he added that Hall was unwilling to believe anything against Mallory.

Two days after, on March 10, Mallory came up to Hall in St. Paul's and charged him with having "reported him too be a Cousiner of folkes at Mawe".¹ Hall denied it, saying Drake could never have placed his words in such a light. The same afternoon all three met at John Croke's bowling-alley, and on Mallory repeating his accusation Drake explained what Hall really had said.

Nothing more happened until the last day of June, when Mallory, emboldened by Hall's continual denials, sent a message to Hall from Worme's tavern near Fleet Bridge. "A knaue he is in denying his wordes he vttered of mee to Drake: a foole, for that the last Parliamente he vsed in the house such speeches, as he craued pardon, with protestation, abandoning them, and confessing his folly: a boy, for that he durst not goe into the fiede with mee." These provocative words were several times reported to Hall in the course of the day. One cannot help suspecting these tale-bearing intermediaries of a desire to make trouble and bring about a duel. When Hall heard them again whilst at supper, he suddenly hastened out with three of his men and made his way to Worme's. His cholerick disposition, over which he had so little control, led to another of those violent

¹ As Hall himself tells us, "mawe" was "a play at cardes growne out of the country, from the meanest, into credite at the courte with the greatest" (*Letter sent by F. A.*).

outbursts, so typical of the man, of which he had to repent at leisure. For the time being he was evidently so enraged that he was almost out of his mind and hardly responsible for his actions. Arrived at Worme's, Hall burst into the room where Mallory was playing at tables, and, infuriated by the sight of his enemy, he drew his dagger and rushed at him. Hall had just time to aim a blow which missed Mallory, before those present intervened and held him down. Mallory, recovering his presence of mind, drew his dagger and might have killed Hall, who had been disarmed. The latter, however, "wyth greate furie saide, wil you holde me, while I am murdered". At this stage Hall's three servants appeared on the scene, and one of them, John Nicholas, aimed at Mallory with his dagger, wounding him slightly but also injuring his master—"y^e hilte light on his Maisters pate, and with the part of the blade next y^e same, cutte his forehead".

Until July 6 Hall lay at the house of his friend Francis Wodehouse, "not being fit to goe abroade for his hurte, but with a muffle in maner halfe ouer his face". On this date he left London and proceeded to his house at Grantham, hiring post-horses for his journey. After ending his business there, he returned to the capital on July 22, only to hear that Mallory had been busy slandering him again. For the time being, however, Hall had no leisure to deal with the matter. He had promised to wait on the Earls of Sussex and Leicester for a shooting-match during the Queen's progress, and consequently he left London for the Court on August 2. "At Sudley, the house of y^e Lord Shaundoy's late disceased (now y^e old Ladies joynture) he found hir maiestie."¹ Hall remained at Court until the Queen arrived at Winchester. Thence he proceeded to his home at Grantham on September 14, returning to London only after Michaelmas. One might have expected his reappearance to

¹ Sudley or Sudeley Castle, then one of the most beautiful in Gloucestershire. The Queen had gone there from her own palace of Woodstock (*cf.* John Nichols, *Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, I, 391). The Lady Chandos here mentioned was Dorothy, daughter of Edmund, Lord Bray, and widow of Edmund Brydges, second Lord Chandos. On the death of the latter, September 11, 1573, his son succeeded to the title. The third Lord Chandos married Lady Francis Clinton, with whose family Arthur Hall was distantly connected, as his great-uncle, Sir Robert Wingfield, married Lady Joan Clinton (*cf.* John Nichols, *op. cit.*, I, 391, 543, and III, 129. Also Lord Powerscourt, *op. cit.*, Wingfield pedigrees).

give the signal for renewed strife. He saw Mallory, however, many times without any harm being done. Yet, as Hall says with an air of resignation, "*fatum is inevitable*, else Troy perhap had stooede, so it might haue bin this stage shewe had not made so many laugh".

On November 29 of this year 1574, Hall looked in at Arundel's on his way home from dinner. Finding his friend Drake at dice with others, he joined the company. Whilst they were at their play, Mallory entered with his hand on his dagger and paced the room in a threatening manner. He moved towards Hall who sat throwing the dice, but Drake stepped between them and Mallory departed. However, matters were not to end thus. As soon as the game was over, Hall went out and cried to his servants, "Iesus! can you not knocke the boyes head and the wall together, sith he runnes a bragging thus?" Hall maintains that he strictly charged his men not to use their weapons on Mallory, but simply to cuff him about the ears. In any case, his hot words soon produced an undesirable effect. On leaving Arundel's, Hall made his way to St. Paul's, no doubt hoping to find his friends at this popular meeting-place. He was just relating Mallory's provocative behaviour to several of them, when his enemy "entred the Church, and passing twice or thryse by Hal, with great lookes and extraordinarie rubbing him on the elbowes, with spurnyng three or foure times a Spaniel of M. Woodhouses following his maister and maister Hal". Outside the west door of St. Paul's a brawl now followed, in which John Nicholas, Hall's servant, was hard pressed by Mallory and his man. However, just at the critical moment another attendant of Hall's, Edward Smalley by name, came to the rescue. He cut Mallory down the cheek, "and so the play was marde".

Mallory, who was attended by Silva,¹ a Piedmontese physician, denounced Hall to the latter with "thondering speeches" and "heauie threatres". Silva was alarmed at this violence and spoke about it to the Duchess of Suffolk, in whose service some of Hall's relations were. Judging the matter to be serious, although she did not look upon his conduct with entire favour, she sent Hall a warning. He cut rather a sorry figure, because

¹ He enjoyed a great reputation at the time, particularly as a surgeon (cf. Strype, *op. cit.*, II, Pt. I, p. 174).

many believed he had been afraid to accept Mallory's challenge at the beginning, but had set his servants on to wound the man he feared to fight. From all sides he received warnings that Mallory was bent on mischief. He was told that his enemy threatened to set fire to his lodgings. Drake declared that if Hall tried to go home to Grantham for Christmas, he would be killed by Mallory and others lying in wait for him. Nevertheless, Hall decided to run the risk, and left London on December 23, arriving in safety at his country house and staying there in happy oblivion of the quarrel until January 22.

For his part Mallory was resolved not to let things rest; his determination to be revenged was as strong as ever. At his instance, Smalley had been arrested on December 3. Mallory's brother Francis went to Court and publicly branded Hall as a coward. Reports of the slanders of the two brothers reached Hall's ears. He heard also how his foe went about with a loaded "dagge"¹ in his pocket and watched him at night to kill him. In the meantime Smalley, Nicholas, and Chambers, Hall's three servants, were prosecuted for drawing their swords in St. Paul's Churchyard, the penalty being that the culprit should lose his ears. But Hall, by appealing to the Earl of Leicester, had the case postponed. It came up for trial, however, at the Guildhall on February 21, 1575. Mallory's advocate "charged M. Hal with malicious and implacable dealyng, with suche a desire of his owne will to be satisfied, as he cared not for the casting away of 500 poundes if he might purchase the same: howe he came to Wormes, how he hurte M. Mallerie, how still he followed the reuenge with an Italian mynde learned at Rome". Feeling seems to have run very strong against Hall. Mallory won his case, and Smalley was ordered to pay £100 damages, but the execution was stayed until the first day of the next term. Mallory, afraid that Hall's powerful friends would have the decision nullified, went to the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Sussex, and also to the Lord Treasurer, Lord Burghley, placing Hall's conduct in no favourable light. Not satisfied with this, he even sought an audience of the Queen, which being granted, he begged her not to grant a pardon to Hall's men. To which Elizabeth answered grimly "that he should haue Iustice, and

¹ A kind of heavy pistol.

that she neuer was hasty in pardoning, neyther neede he feare the same".

As a counter-move Hall caused Mallory and his men to be indicted at Newgate Sessions for having drawn their weapons in St. Paul's Churchyard. The action was postponed until the first Friday in the Michaelmas term. In the interval, on September 8, Mallory died, thus introducing fresh complications. On his death-bed he forgave Hall, but declared that if he had lived he would have been revenged. Yet even though Mallory was dead, the feud was still carried on.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PRIVILEGES OF A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT INVOLVED.

SMALLEY'S debt of £100 and more (including the charges which had now accumulated) was not yet paid, so Andrew Mallory, brother to the dead man, caused a warrant to be issued for Smalley's arrest. Hall bethought himself of a way out of this trouble and warned Mosley, an official of the Compter (the prison for the city of London) that Smalley, as servant to a member of Parliament, claimed immunity from arrest. Nevertheless, Smalley and Chambers, "yonder yeman going in the redde hose with his fellow in the greene cloke," were arrested. Mosley greeted the former with no comforting words: "What doest thou meane, fellow," he asked, "to rotte in pryson, and to lose thine eares?" Hall was unwilling that his servant should undergo this fate, and expressed his readiness to pay the £100. Beyond this he would not go, and as the Mallorys demanded that he should meet the costs also, his proposal had no result.

Hall now brought the matter up in the House of Commons, and committees were appointed to hear the case. Smalley's master alleged "that if the Queenes ordinarie seruants, souldiours in garrison, men with protections granted from the Prince, had greate freedome from arrestes, whiche no man coulde denye, howe muche more shoulde the members of that house haue priuiledge?" The case of Smalley was to some extent a new one. The House of Commons had for some time claimed that its own members were immune from arrest on civil process, whilst Parliament was in session. Even under the Plantagenets such cases had occurred, though a distinct Act of Parliament or a writ of privilege out of Chancery was necessary to secure the admission of the claim. In 1543 George Ferrers, a member of the House of Commons, was arrested on his way thither. The Serjeant of the House was sent to demand his release, and when the gaolers and sheriffs of London refused to obey, they were compelled to

appear at the bar of the House. In Smalley's case the question was whether the protection of the House was extended not only to its members but also to the members' servants. After much argument and hesitation on the part of the Commons, Smalley was brought to the House and placed in the keeping of the Serjeant till further notice. Later he was set free, on condition that Hall should answer for his reappearance when called for. It is worth noting that this protection afforded to the servants of members was continued until the reign of George III, when it was abolished by statute.¹

So far Hall seemed to have won the day, thanks to his shrewdness in emphasising the privileges of which his fellow-members were always so mindful. Yet a change came over the house. It was pointed out that Smalley was merely seeking to avoid payment of a debt, and it was felt disgraceful that the house should countenance such a proceeding. Moreover, Hall's speeches of 1572 were still fresh in men's memories, and feeling now began to turn against him. In attacking this fickleness in the *Letter*, Hall inserted the following passage, which told against him later on. Mr. Recorder urged the house that "they shold not doubt vpon good occasion to reuerse the iudgement they had past, producing a president hapned in a Parliament wherin he was, which fel out in a bil. for the Vintners at London. It was so, that they labored for a statute to passe touching wines, whiche was to be read and argued in the after noon on the Saterdag: Many of the Parliament were that day at diner feasted by them. Their good chere ended, to counsell they goe: Bacchus spake in the parliament (as y^e sequele doth declare) for his ministers y^e Vintners: what more the lawe had free passage. It was but a daye betweene, as master Recorder said, a Monday morning they found a fault with their Saterdays after noone work, and made no bones aduisedly to dash that which Vinteners good chere had vnaduisedly caused them to determine late a saterdag."

It was now decided that Smalley's case should be reopened, and on March 2 both parties were heard by the committee appointed. The findings of the committee, intimated to Hall next morning in the Treasury Chamber by Lord Burghley himself, were that he must pay Mallory £100 and thus bring the

¹ Henry Hallam, *Constitutional History of England*, I, 268-70.

quarrel to an end. Even to his old guardian, "Hal intemperately sware he would neuer performe the same". He was almost beside himself with anger and charged the members of the committee with being biassed. The latter were indignant at Hall's stubbornness and, on March 6, again laid the case before the House of Commons. The debate was stormy, and Hall was forced to leave the House. Hard words were used on both sides, for Hall was not without friends who warmly took his part. According to Hall's account, the discussion was closed with unseemly haste. It had grown very dark, being after seven o'clock, and many members were impatient to go home, but by the Speaker's orders the door of the House was "kept". Amidst some disorder, and when it was so dark that the clerk could not see to enter judgment, it was declared that the House had resolved that both Smalley and Kirtleton, a pedagogue in the service of Hall, should be committed to the Tower.

The news was brought to Hall outside, who in his misfortune quoted the words of Æneas, "*Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem*,"¹ as applying to himself, and "*Durate et vosmet rebus servate secundis*"² with reference to his friends. But he was by no means resigned to this new decision. He complained bitterly of the way he had been dealt with, and declared the resolution of the House *opus tenebrarum*, on account of the conditions under which it was passed. He himself gives a lively account of his indignation on this occasion. "He seemed to be touched at the quicke, protesting he was not able to beare the opprobrie his contraries woulde in corners spreade abroad: he seemed to make light of ten times the value of the money, tho it were not his ease to pay it, and so great accompt of the recited premisses, as it was told him by them that wished him well, that a Princes hart with a poore mans habilitie was an ill medley, that continuall kicking wil make the backe ake, and many enemies breede disquietnes: takyng leaue one of another, in the Palace, he plucking his hatte about his eares, mumbling the olde wiues *Pater noster*, departed."³

From the above passage something of Hall's anger can be imagined. In this frame of mind he was capable of going to great lengths. Proof of his fury was given the same evening,

¹ *Æneid*, II, 354.

² *Ibid.*, I, 207.

³ Probably the same as the Devil's Paternoster, *i.e.*, a muttered imprecation.

when the Serjeant's man summoned Smalley and Kirtleton to follow him to the House of Commons. Hall defiantly sent word that he was not at home, nor were his servants, and persisted in thus flouting the authority of the Commons. This behaviour was highly displeasing to his fellow-members, and on March 7 the Recorder introduced a bill, which enacted that Hall should not only pay the £100, but be for ever turned out of the House as a wrangler. It was, however, dropped, for at this moment Smalley gave himself up to the Commons. "Yea, quoth M. Recorder, I thought of some suche matter, for I gaue knowledge to Mistres Hall of this geare this morning, I doubted not but she would send her man, I maruell how he could hit so right, but as women be vaine glorious, so can they not abide such an infamy to fall to theyr husbandes, and he doubted not but that M. Hall was (as some wiser men than he are) content many times to be aduised by theyr wiues."

Acting on his wife's counsel Hall had given way, and sent his servant Smalley with a letter to the House of Commons. This document, written on March 7, 1576,¹ is supposed to be Hall's submission to the House, though its tone is anything but submissive. He complains that they "haue proceeded against me as a stranger, and not with that fauour as a member of such a body might in good equitie haue looked for, which hath forced me sore to my great discontentation to withdraw my self till a time of better fauour". The letter is one long list of complaints as to the treatment meted out to him, but in the final lines he defers to the authority of the House, without, however, apologising in any shape or form. "In all, I submit my selfe to your honors wisdomes, as one who is most desirous of your good opinions and fauours, and wish you good success in al honorable proceedings." But all this came too late to appease the wrath of the House of Commons at the way in which it had been defied and slighted. It was resolved that Smalley should be committed to the Tower for a month, or till his master had pledged himself to pay the £100. Hence, the House claimed the right not only to protect a member's servant but also, if necessary, to punish him.

Arthur Hall was now weary of the whole affair, and on

¹ The letter is dated February 7, obviously an error for March 7, as the context shows. The year was 1575, new style, 1576 (see Appendix, p. 185).

March 29 he entered into recognisances to pay the money, and thereupon retired to Grantham in dudgeon. It was only on May 9, after considerable difficulties, that Smalley was set free. Immediately after his release he was dismissed by Hall, whose anger at all the troubles arising from his follower's excess of zeal knew no bounds. With a certain wry humour, Hall tells us that "bycause he (Smalley) hath song in so worthy a Gayle, his Master thought him not meete to chaunte in so meane a Cadge as the beste house he is like to haue, so that now he may, beyng Sommer, learne a new note in the greene fields". Another grim smile flits across Hall's face, when he speaks of dismissing the schoolmaster Matthew Kirtleton, who had also been implicated in the matter of Mallory. On hearing that the pedagogue was to go, "Cecill Hall, his masters sonne, was no whit discontented".

This quarrel with Mallory was only the beginning of Arthur Hall's misfortunes, as before long he was in great straits for lack of money. The rate at which he had lived, with servants beyond his means, as he himself frankly confesses, and playing dice, not to speak of the heavy damages awarded to Mallory, led to serious financial entanglements. In the *Letter*, he does not forget to tell us how hard hit he was by the decision of the House of Commons. "The 8th of May, God be thanked, the money is reddy, somewhat before appoyntment, with hard shift inough: for beggers without daunger of lawe cannot haue money when they woulde." His marriage to a goldsmith's daughter in 1566, had, as we have seen, brought about a temporary improvement in his fortunes, and relieved him from very serious financial embarrassments. After the lapse of some ten years, however, he was again in difficulties. A letter addressed to Burghley early in 1579, requesting his help in a suit to the Queen, doubtless has reference to these pecuniary troubles. He asks for a "smale benefytt," and "scrapes of her highnes great liberale bestowed fare," which he does not hope to obtain without Burghley's aid. In the same letter Hall complains about the unfair way in which Mr. Justice Monson had treated him, but whether this quarrel had reference to money matters, it is impossible to say.¹

¹ See Appendix, p. 187.

Undeniable proof of Hall's lack of money is afforded by a document bearing the date 1579, new style 1580. It came up for sale at Messrs. Sotheby's auction rooms on March 21, 1864. This unique curiosity was bought by a private purchaser, Mr. Boone, for £5 5s., but we have been unable to trace it any further. The description in the auction catalogue¹ is as follows: "Indenture between Arthur Hall of Grantham, and Mary his wife, on the one part, and Henry Gylbert, Citizen and Goldsmith of London, on the other part, of bargain and sale of all that Capital Messuage or Tenement, with its appurtenances, situate in Foster Lane, in the parish of St. Leonard, in the City of London, wherein Margery Dewie, mother of the said Mary Hall, late dwelt, and now in the occupation of John Baker, Esq., Thomas Baker, Esq., Rowland Jhonson, Goldsmith, Awdryan Queney, Goldsmith, and James Poole, Goldsmith, with all the wainscott ceilings and hangings, and all other goods and implements thereto belonging. The original document on vellum with the autographs of Arthur and Mary Hall, also their seals with arms thereon, and the autograph attestation of William Mowse, one of the Masters in Chancery, in the finest preservation, Feb. 14, 1579."

There is no room for doubt that only lack of money could have driven Hall to sell the old home of his wife, which must have been of no small dimensions for it to be occupied by five different parties. Several passages in the *Letter sent by F. A.* show that he had been compelled to borrow in order to meet his heavy expenses. Thus when the news is brought that Smalley has been condemned to pay Mallory £100 damages, "who rages now and takes the matter in dunion but M. Hall, who exclaims now of his trustie and well spoken of friends the Londoners, who now repents of the defences to his abilitie he hath made for them in all places, where any thing was spoken to theyr rebuke: who now condemned himself for standing so much in his owne conceyte, to beleue well of theyr good willes to him and his: who now finds that the paying of XXV in the hundred in vsurie, and more than is reason gayne in a yarde of silke or stuffe, did make hym haue so many Caps, and fayre countenances but he? and

¹ Pp. 13-14, Lot No. 88. The occasion was the sale of the books of "Two eminent collectors," but as no names are given, it is not possible to discover anything about the history of the deed.

yet must I needes confesse, that in all his choller and heate, he acknowledged himself as much bounde to some Merchantes within the walles of London, as any Gentleman euer was, allowing many to be worshipfull, graue, and wise Cytizens”.

It was probably the thought that he might need further help which held Hall back somewhat in his abuse of the London merchants. That he had some ground for complaint is proved by the exorbitant interest demanded of him. Hall seems to have had dealings with the goldsmiths in particular. Thus, on his way home, he makes a detour “for the men who owe money in Cheapside like not alwaies to be pluckte by the sleue”.¹ His chief creditor was doubtless the Henry Gilbert mentioned in the deed of sale. When his servant Smalley was arrested, Hall was “late in the euenyng . . . at M. Howes house, a goldsmith in Cheapeside”. Smalley’s “Master desired M. Henry Gilbert, a Goldsmith next by, and M. How to stande bounde for him, (*i.e.*, Smalley) which most willingly they did, as persones to whome, not onely at this time but at al other occasions, M. Hal had greatly bene beholding”.

With all these financial worries, Hall’s life was hardly a bed of roses. But worse was in store, for which he had only his own reckless and headstrong nature to thank.

¹ Cheapside was the street of the goldsmiths.

CHAPTER VIII.

ANOTHER CASE OF PRIVILEGE: HALL IN THE TOWER.

AS a matter of form Hall had bowed to the will of the House of Commons in the Mallory affair, but the decision and the memory of the humiliation which he had undergone rankled within him. On retiring to his country residence in the spring of 1576, he brooded over his wrongs. After a while he gave vent to his anger in a pamphlet which was printed anonymously under the title *A Letter sent by F. A.* The letter is dated from London, May 19, 1576, but was in reality printed somewhat later.¹ As Parliament was in recess, and did not resume its sittings till 1581, no notice could be taken of the book. In 1580, however, Hall was compelled to appear before the Privy Council and answer for what he had written. He was severely rebuked and "made some form of submission".² In spite of this, he continued to publish the *Letter* until the new session of Parliament put an end to his doings. On February 4, 1581, Thomas Norton declared to the House of Commons in tones of indignation, "that some person of late had caused a Book to be set forth in print, not only greatly reproachful against some particular good Members of this House of great Credit, but also very much slanderous and derogatory to the general Authority, Power and State of this House, and prejudicial to the validity of the Proceedings of the same, in making and establishing of Laws, charging this House with Drunkenness as Accompanied in their Councils with Bacchus and then also with Choler, as those which had never sailed to Anticyra, and the Proceedings of this House to be *opera tenebrarum*".³

¹ See pp. 124-25.

² D'Ewes, *op. cit.*, pp. 295-96. (Cf. also p. 188.)

³ D'Ewes, *op. cit.*, pp. 291-92. Hall had written in the *Letter*: "M. Winter had not bene at Anticyra, hys choller and melancolie was not purged". Somewhat later he advises those of a passionate disposition to go to Anticyra, "out of that friendly Ile to bring home the hole bottomes full of that beneficial herbe Helleborus

Suspicion immediately fell on Hall, and when the House heard that he had already confessed before the Privy Council to being the author, the Serjeant-at-arms was sent with an order to apprehend him. At the same time a committee, on which was Hall's old playmate, Sir Thomas Cecil, was appointed to examine the printer. Two days later, February 6, the committee reported that the printer had delivered about fourteen copies of the *Letter* to Hall. He had printed some eighty or a hundred on Hall's promising to obtain a privilege for him, but later, receiving no money, he had stopped the publication until he was paid. Hall was then brought to the bar of the House and charged by the Speaker with having written this libellous and defamatory book. The accused "denied not the setting forth of the said Book, protesting the same to be done by him without any malicious intent or meaning, either against the State of this House, or to mollify your malice, to banishe your collar, and to make you forswear your fury".

Hall had doubtless in mind three passages in Horace:—

(a) *Satires*, Book 2, 3, vv. 82-3:—

"danda est ellebori multo pars maxima avaris :
nescio an Anticyram ratio illis destinet omnem."

(b) *Ibid.*, vv. 165-66:—

"verum ambitiosus et audax :
naviget Anticyram."

(c) *Ars Poetica*, vv. 299-301:—

"nanciscetur enim pretium nomenque poetæ,
si tribus Anticyris caput insanabile nunquam
tonsoni Licino commiserit."

Strabo describes Anticyra in the province of Phocis as the home of hellebore, which plant was considered to be a certain cure for madness and stupidity.

Elsewhere in the *Letter* Hall charged the above Sir William Winter and Thomas Wilson, the translator of Demosthenes, with unfairness in the judging of the dispute with Mallory. "Comparisons be hateful," he says, "but if betternesse may go by worthinesse in all respects and Hal be his owne iudge, he will giue no place to M. Winter, tho he be a knight. M. Wilson, to whom M. Hal hath alwayes singularly bene beholding, and *E Conuerso* the other to him, as far as his smal habilitie and good will could stretch, was much miscontented that he shoulde be named among the reste, to whome Hal sayde, that he would committe a matter of far greater importaunce to his handes," but he had told Hall in private talk that he was opposed to discharging Smalley.

The Thomas Norton who drew the attention of the Commons to Hall's book was another literary man, best known as the collaborator of Thomas Sackville in *Gorboduc*. Norton was originally a member of the committee appointed to consider the dispute between Hall and Mallory, but Hall protested that he was prejudiced and so Norton withdrew. Norton and Hall had already crossed swords over the matter of the Duke of Norfolk and Mary, Queen of Scots.

against any Member of the same; praying this whole House (if he had offended in so doing) they would remit and pardon him; affirming withal very earnestly that he never had any more of the said Books: and upon due consideration of his rashness and folly therein, willed that all the said Books should be suppressed".

However, the House of Commons was not so easily appeased. Hall was placed in the Serjeant's ward and ordered to appear two days later, February 8. The case was afterwards postponed until February 14. In the meantime the committee had gone into the matter thoroughly, and now preferred the following charges against Hall. He was accused:—

"1. Of being guilty of contempt against the House during the last session, in that being enjoined by the House to appear, he departed out of town in contempt of the Court.¹

"2. Of having testified the same his wilful contempt by an unseemly letter addressed by him to the House.²

"3. Of having published the conferences of the House in print.³

"4. Of having published a libel with a counterfeit name of the author, and no name of the printer.⁴

"5. Of having slandered sundry good particular members of the House, and of having injuriously impeached the memory of the late Speaker, Sir Robert Bell.⁵

"6. Of having impugned the authority of the House of Commons; of having affirmed that he knew of his own knowledge that the House had *de facto* judged and proceeded untruly; of thus having criticised the rights of the House.

"7. Of having continued to publish the libel after his submission to the Privy Council.

"8. Of having denied the possession of any more copies of the book, when it was proved he had six since his appearance before the Privy Council, and that he had even in that session caused one to be sent to Sir Randal Brier-ton, Knight."

Hall's behaviour was not such as to arouse any sympathy in the House or to move it to leniency. From the proceedings it

¹ In the *Letter* Hall mentions that Sir William Winter had avouched "that Hall as the day before in the afternoon was at Arundels at dyce, and therefore the house abused, in that it was there reported hee was sicke".

² See pp. 64, 185, 188.

³ As late as 1771 the right to publish Parliamentary proceedings was challenged, but since then has never really been questioned under normal circumstances.

⁴ Under Elizabeth the Star Chamber assumed the right to limit the number of printers and presses and to prohibit all publications issued without public licence.

⁵ He had accused him of unfairness and partiality in the hearing of the dispute between Hall and Mallory. He declared that Bell had not truly delivered and set down the orders of the House, but deliberately altered them.

appeared that on the printer declaring he wished all the books were burnt rather than that he had meddled with them, Hall replied, "he woulde not so for a hundred pounde". It was clear, therefore, that Hall, though outwardly submissive, was unrepentant at heart. Even at the bar of the House, face to face with his hostile fellow-members, he showed himself as obstinate and unyielding as ever. "Some meane reverence was by hym doon, thoughe not in such humble and lowlye wise as the state of one in that place to be chardged and accused, requyred." However, he made some kind of submission, acknowledging some of the charges brought against him and denying others. He made little or no defence, confessed he had erred in some respects but maintained he had been misrepresented in others, and finished by asking the pardon of the House.

Hall's rashness in writing the *Letter*, his insolence in continuing to circulate it, and his stubborn defiance of the House of Commons, cost him very dear. It was resolved that he should be committed to the Tower, and there imprisoned for six months or even longer if necessary, until he made "a particular revocation or retractacon under his hande in wrytenge of the saide booke". Not satisfied with this, the outraged House of Commons imposed a fine of 500 marks on him,¹ to be paid to the Queen. Finally, they took the drastic step of excluding him from sitting again during that Parliament. A new writ was issued for Grantham and a member elected in Hall's stead.²

The resolutions of the House, which were passed unanimously, show the depth of feeling aroused by the notorious *Letter*. It has been thought that the heavy punishment inflicted on Hall points to some offence against the Queen.³ True it is that the fine inflicted on Hall was to be paid to the Crown, but this is the only justification for making the above assumption. On the other hand, however, the whole account of the case proves that the House was insulted by the slighting references to its rights and privileges. At all times jealous of these, it was certainly not prepared to tolerate any meddling by a private member in

¹ This was an extremely heavy fine. The mark had a value of 13s. 4d., so the fine would amount to over £330, equivalent to a much larger sum in our days.

² For the above account of the proceedings in the Commons, see Appendix, pp. 187-89, and D'Ewes, *op. cit.*, pp. 291-98.

³ See John Hatsell, *A Collection of Cases of Privilege of Parliament*, p. 94.

a fit of resentment. Its authority had been called in question and had to be maintained. Special stress is laid on this point by the Clerk of the House in his account of the proceedings. What the Commons took most amiss was evidently that Hall wrote "a false and sclaunderouse discourse against the Antiquytie and Authortie of the comon howse or thirde estate of the parliament, wherein he hathe falsely sought as much as in hym is, to impugne, deface, blemyshe and dymynyshe the power, antiquity, and authortie of this howse and the Interest that this howse hathe alwayes, and in all ages had, to the greate Impeachment of the auntyent order and government of this Realme, the rights of this howse and the forme of makeinge lawes".¹

Hall had, indeed, attempted to demonstrate that Parliament was not such an ancient institution as some had tried to make out. He argued that it was a relatively late growth, and that sessions of Parliament, as distinct from mere consultations of the King with certain representatives, were comparatively modern. Hall tried to show also that the part played by the King and his nobles was much more considerable than that of the Commons. Thus in the reign of Edward III, deliberations with the prelates, dukes, earls, barons, and great men of the country are mentioned and then in the last place, with the "commons of Cities and Burgesses". Hence, for Hall, the King and nobles have a much older claim to authority than the Commons. "The number of penal statutes and generall pardons of the Prince, will dissuade the Antiquity of our thirde voices, which many do defende, and also will shewe a lighte of the admitting the third person in this trinity." In fact, though Hall avers that he by no means desires to cast any slight on the House of Commons, and seeks to anticipate the misinterpretations of his meaning by "Malbouch," it cannot be denied that the whole tendency of his account is to diminish the prestige of the third estate and to enhance that of the King and the Upper House. "Your countryes welfare," we are told, "must alwayes be your onely and greatest care. The flourishing whereof is the Princes strength and ioylity, the nobilities quietnesse and greatnesse. For as a King cannot King it, without people, nor Lordes Lord it without Tenauntes, no more can nations liue in common welths without the higher authority.

¹ Appendix, p. 188. Hall had rated the power of the monarch much higher than the Commons were willing to recognise.

The musicke of which three, ioyned and agreing in one, doth make the olde one-legged man hop for ioy, and the white heares to dye in peace." But Hall's eulogy on the British Constitution could not remove the unfavourable impression which was carried away by his fellow-members, and, as we have seen, the retribution which overtook him was severe. Even twenty years later, Hall's outburst and its punishment had not faded from men's memories. Bacon, speaking in 1601, referred to this case, and declared that Hall was imprisoned "for that he said the Lower House was a new person in the Trinity, and because these words tended to the derogation of the state of the House, and giving absolute power to the other".¹

This case of Arthur Hall is of special interest for the constitutional historian. Amongst the punishments inflicted on him, one entirely new feature of parliamentary privilege was involved. The right of the House of Commons to punish its own members was no innovation. In the reigns of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth, cases had occurred in which the Commons imposed a penalty on one of their members for some misdemeanour. And, as we have previously seen, they extended the right of punishment to a member's servant. The striking feature in Hall's case lies in his being expelled from Parliament and replaced by a new member. As far as the records show, this is the first precedent for the power of expulsion, which has ever since remained in the possession of the Lower House without its being contested. It is true a case had been discussed in 1558, which involved an issue similar to that of Hall's affair. A member, who was guilty of several frauds and had been outlawed, was on the point of being expelled, but by a very small majority it was decided that he should be allowed to sit. From this it is clear that the House of Commons claimed the right of expulsion as early as 1558, but the first recorded instance of this power actually being exercised is that of Arthur Hall.²

The sentence of the House of Commons was carried out

¹ J. Spedding, *Letters and Life of Francis Bacon*, III, 37.

² See H. Hallam, *op. cit.*, I, 274. It is interesting to note that at the time of the contest between Charles I and the Parliament, the case of Hall was again remembered. In 1641 there was printed a quarto entitled, *The Orders, Proceedings, Punishments, and Privileges of the Common House of Parliament in England*. It is reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany*, Vol. 4, London, 1809, and on pp. 567-68, mention is made of Hall's offence and his punishment.

without loss of time, and Hall was soon a prisoner in the Tower. On March 10, 1581, he wrote a letter to Burghley from his prison, in which he complained bitterly of the rigour of the Lower House. Ever ready for a quarrel with pen and ink, he had intended to put together an answer to the charges brought against him, but his previous experience showed him that his labour would be in vain. Nevertheless, he assures Burghley that "I doubt not but I am able to answere and shewe the worlde that I have not deserved anie suche censure as they laie on me". He had sent a messenger to the Speaker with an inquiry as to the charges made against him and had hoped to find that the House had relented. On the contrary, he met with a rebuff and now complains to Burghley, "Thus may your Lordship see what proffytt I should have reaped, if I had liberallie submitted my self to them in writinge, when uppon such A preparative as I have written, so small fruiet followes".¹

The session came to an end on March 18, and Hall still persisted in his refusal to make a complete withdrawal. After an imprisonment of seven weeks, however, he bowed to the inevitable and handed in his submission to the Lords of the Council. On the same day, April 2, 1581, by the special command of the Queen, he was discharged from the custody of the Lieutenant of the Tower.² In making his submission, he had to acknowledge the authority of Parliament as a whole, and of the House of Commons in particular, and to declare that the then constitutional system was such as could not be improved upon. As for the private persons he had offended, he says: "I doe require them to interpret my unadvised speaches rather to the passion of my self, being greved, then to anie intent of slaunder or infamie to anie of them all, and I request them and every of them to consider how easely many very wise men, yea, men of age and experience, may err in spechees or wrytyngs uttered whyles ther mynds ar greved with ther particular concepts touchyng them in credit or in proffitt". Hall's tone is thus quite humble, but towards the end we get a glimpse of his real feelings, when he protests that the sharp speeches of his opponents gave him cause for resent-

¹ See Appendix, p. 192.

² Hallam (*op. cit.*, p. 273) incorrectly states that Hall remained in prison until the dissolution of Parliament, *i.e.*, April 9, 1583. That this is wrong is proved by *Acts of the Privy Council*, Vol. 13, pp. 8-11; see also Appendix, p. 193.

ment. Nevertheless he closes in an apologetic manner with the words: "I know I ought to remember the sayeng of Almighty God, which sayth *Mihi vindictam*".¹

In spite of his submission, Hall was by no means in a chastened frame of mind. Even if he had given way to superior force, he was still defiant at heart. He was firmly convinced that he had been grievously wronged and did not hesitate to make known what he thought. Writing to Burghley on December 13, 1584, he stoutly maintains that the censure of Parliament and its sentence against him for writing his book were illegal. "What aucthorytee one house of Parlyement hath to execute such a judgment ageinst any subject, I referr to your honours grave and wyse knowledge. If they have nether lawe nor president therfore, my fortune is harde, and specyally because her Majestyes pardon and gracyouse delyverance of me, wyl be allowed for no satisfaction." He declares he is not afraid, but he may suffer harm in many ways, if his reputation is too much "wounded" at this time.²

Thus ended this episode of Arthur Hall's life, which affords an excellent illustration of his fearless and quarrelsome disposition. For him it had meant defeat and humiliation more bitter than any he had hitherto known. He never really recovered from it, and from this time onwards his star began to sink—slowly but surely. "Vindictive persons," said Hall's fellow-courtier Bacon with much truth, "live the life of witches, who, as they are mischievous, so end they infortunate."

¹ See Appendix, p. 191.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 193-94.

CHAPTER IX.

HALL QUARRELS WITH LADY SUSSEX AND IS IMPRISONED.

ARTHUR HALL'S position at the end of the year 1581 was not enviable. He had brought himself into bad order by his conduct in the quarrel with Mallory and alienated all sympathy by his subsequent violence and obstinacy. He himself felt the surrounding atmosphere of ill-will somewhat oppressive, and appears to have contemplated going abroad until the storm had subsided and his delinquencies were forgotten. On July 23, 1582, he therefore wrote to Burghley about his project. The tone of his letter is that of a disappointed, even of an embittered man. We gather from it that through Burghley, his "Mecænas," he had preferred a suit to the Queen, which was refused in spite of Burghley's mediation and Hall's long service. The refusal is attributed by Hall to his enemies—"such as rather take pleasure to harme all but theyr favorytes, and attempt all who are not theyr followers no waye to be regarded". But Hall with his usual sturdy independence thanks God "that yet that remains to me, tho yt be smale, which wyll kepe me from fawning on them love me not, which yet yf yt wanted, I wolde not hold the stirrup to him who extraordynarylye goes about to stresse me therto".

Who was Hall's adversary at Court? Evidently he was some one who had the Queen's ear, and in view of the circumstances, the Earl of Sussex seems to have been most likely to display hostility towards Hall.¹ In any case, it is clear that Hall was not looked upon with great favour by the Queen, when even Burghley was unable to obtain a small boon for him. It is then hardly surprising to learn that Hall had absented himself from Court. "God is my wytnes, I have thoght with my selfe, and I knowe not what contenance to loke with, yf I shold come

¹ See pp. 59, 80.

thether, not the matter but the maner lyes heavy at my hart." And so he has decided to go abroad if he can obtain the Queen's permission, "to become in some universytee out of this Lande, a yonge student of an old unthrift". By this means, he goes on, "my bodye shall have more rest, my purse better furnished, and my soule sonde reclaimed".¹

Whether Hall actually obtained leave of the Queen and carried out his plan is uncertain. It is, however, worth noting, that from the end of 1582 until 1584 there is a gap in the Hall correspondence, though this may be a mere chance. In the latter year his re-election as member for Grantham was discussed. Sooner or later the question was bound to arise, for the decision of the House of Commons in 1581 only applied to the current Parliament. On November 8, 1584, John Pike, alderman of Grantham,² and his "brethren" addressed a letter to the Earl of Rutland with regard to the representatives for Grantham. They had decided at their last court that the Earl of Rutland should have the nomination of one burgess and the Earl of Lincoln that of the other. The greater number of their commons had, however, already given their voices to Mr. Arthur Hall and Mr. William Thorold. But on other occasions, if the Earl of Rutland would write to them before their voices were given to others, they would be at his command.³

In keeping with the facts mentioned in this letter, which throw a striking light on the workings of the system of parliamentary elections at that time, Arthur Hall was, on November 27, 1584, duly returned to the fifth Parliament of Elizabeth as member for Grantham. But after the humiliation he had undergone, it could not have been a pleasure for one so proud and haughty as Hall to re-enter the House of Commons. It is therefore not astonishing to find that the House was informed on December 12 that he had not yet attended, whereupon he was ordered to appear the following Monday.⁴ Hall was still nursing his old grievances, but by Burghley's advice he consented to

¹ See Appendix, p. 193.

² He is mentioned again in connection with Arthur Hall in MSS. *Lansdowne*, Vol. 31, No. 22. Pike was buried at Grantham on Feb. 23, 1597 (see *Grantham Parish Register*).

³ *Cal. MSS. Rutland*, I, 170.

⁴ See D'Ewes's *Journal* under this date, pp. 338-39.

present himself in Parliament and take his seat.¹ To the sixth Parliament of Elizabeth, returned in October 1586, Hall was not re-elected. His name was, however, once more brought up in the House of Commons on November 21 of that year. He had brought an action against the inhabitants of the borough of Grantham for arrears of wages, which they owed him as their representative in former Parliaments. The then member, Mr. Markham, protested in the name of the burgesses against Hall's suit, on the ground that he had so often failed to attend the sittings of the House. A committee was appointed on December 2 to investigate the matter and, if necessary, to prevent the wages being granted to Hall.² On March 21 of the following year, the committee reported that they had examined Hall, who declared himself "very willing to do anything which might be grateful to the House," and therefore remitted the wages, which was "well liked of by the House".³

Hall's experiences as a member of Parliament had been unfortunate, and he had acquired a distaste for this sphere of activity. In any case, it had only been a secondary interest with him, and now, unwilling to expose himself to the sneers of those who had triumphed over him, he fell back on the pursuits of a country gentleman and a courtier. It was only natural that he should visit Grantham from time to time in order to see to his estates. But, in the prime of life as he now was, Hall did not feel inclined to retire altogether into the country and vegetate. The pleasures of the metropolis and the attractions of the Court, which offered not only honour but also possible pecuniary advan-

¹ See Hall's letter to Burghley on December 13, 1584 (Appendix, p. 194).

² The members for Grantham seem to have been paid wages by the burgesses. A gift of Arthur Hall's to the town, made whilst he was still its representative, exists even now. "Formerly, the Mayor and Chamberlain or Town Clerk each kept his own half of the statute seal. On the back of the Mayor's half-seal are the arms of Hall with this inscription, 'Ex dono Arthuri Hall de Grantham Armigeri, Radulpho Locko Aldermano ejusdem Villae et Soce. Anno Domini 1581. Exculpatum (exculptum?) tempore Thomae Archer, Aldermani, 1613'" (B. Street, *Historical Notes on Grantham*, p. 114). According to E. Turnor, *Collections for the History of Grantham*, pp. 46, 47, Ralph Lockitt was alderman in 1582, and the Thomas Archer of the inscription was Thomas Arthur. In the first case, at any rate, Turnor is wrong, for Ralph Locke is mentioned in *MSS. Lansdowne*, Vol. 31, No. 22, as a citizen of Grantham in 1582. He was buried at Grantham on October 14, 1597 (see *Grantham Parish Register*). The above-mentioned seal may have been intended as a parting gift by Hall, on his exclusion from Parliament in 1581.

³ D'Ewes, *op. cit.*, pp. 403-4, 406-7, and 417-18.

tages, the desire to play his part amongst the nobles and gentlemen who sunned themselves in the Queen's presence—all this must have appealed to him strongly.

From his correspondence we see that he was known to some of the greatest of Elizabeth's courtiers. Burghley was, of course, the planet round whom Hall revolved, but Leicester also appears on his horizon. It was Leicester whom he persuaded to intervene at a critical juncture in the Mallory affair. Again, in the *Letter* we find F. A. speaking of seeing Hall "at my beying at Killingworth in the beginning of Aprill laste (*i.e.*, 1576), where what greate company were assembled, what liberall cheere spent, what familiar welcome vsed, and honorable consideration of all sortes had, I referre to them that know what is incorporate to that house, since it came into the handes of hym that now hath it". From this we gather that Hall was sufficiently intimate with Leicester to receive an invitation to Kenilworth.¹ Was he also present on that historic occasion in the preceding year, when the Queen herself was a guest at Kenilworth? Is it possible that Hall witnessed those ceremonies and spectacles at which Shakespeare himself may have looked on? There is certainly nothing unreasonable in the supposition. During a previous progress, we know that Hall accompanied the Court, and as a follower of the Queen, it is more than likely that he too was amongst those who enjoyed Leicester's lavish hospitality on this particular occasion.

Another great noble, who at times favoured Hall with his company, was the Lord Chamberlain, Thomas Radcliffe, third Earl of Sussex. In the *Letter* Hall mentions that in the summer of 1574, "it had pleased their noble good mindes my lords, the Erls of Sussex, and Leicester, to accept in matching at shoting M. Hal, that he directed himselfe, to attend on their honors y^e time of the progresse, to perfourme y^e matches set downe betweene them". From this passage, it is clear that at this time Hall was on good terms with Sussex. Later on, however, it would seem that Sussex strongly disapproved of Hall's conduct in his quarrel with Mallory, being influenced by the latter's version of the affray in St. Paul's Churchyard. Apparently

¹ Killingworth is a spelling frequently found for Kenilworth, as may be seen by a glance at the Index to the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, for the reign of Elizabeth (*cf.* also Shakespeare, *2 Henry IV*, Act IV, Sc. 9).

Sussex belonged to those who thought Hall a coward and therefore gave him the cold shoulder, and this is our ground for assuming that the high personage, who in 1582 persuaded Elizabeth to reject Hall's suit, was Sussex.¹ In any case, his hostility could not have been of long duration, for he died in 1583, leaving his wife, Lady Frances, to mourn her loss.

To this wealthy and influential widow Hall began to pay attentions some three years later. He himself was a widower, his wife having been buried at Grantham on September 30, 1582.² To have married Lady Sussex would have replenished his coffers, and though she was by far his superior in rank, Hall considered himself equal to anyone. According to Hall's version, Lady Sussex led him on, whereas she maintained that his attentions were presumptuous and was correspondingly embittered at his conduct. Hall's love-making ended in an open quarrel, and he at once sought his revenge by rushing into print with an account of the whole affair. Lady Sussex took action against him early in 1588, not in the law-courts, but apparently through the Queen. This we gather from a letter which Hall wrote to his old guardian from London on April 3 of that year. He tells Burghley how he had been summoned before the Earl of Leicester and others, who were to inquire into the nature of the quarrel. Hall requested Leicester to allow "nothing past betwene my Lady and me to be ript upp, alledging I should be dryven to declare what I was most unwylling and the same not to the like of my Lady". He also pointed out that if he had done anything wrong, he ought to be tried in the ordinary law-court and was quite willing that this should be done. Leicester took this speech amiss and, as Hall tells us, commanded in the Queen's name "that ether I must suffer my Lady to have her wyll, and I to receave to her great triumph no smale disgrace, or els utter in my defence, what should not prove all Gospell cam out of her mouth". Hall then cleared himself in writing of the charges brought against him, and Leicester was to declare to the Queen that all had been ended amicably. Thereupon, thanking God that the storm was over, Hall departed for Grantham.³

In this, however, he was doomed to be disappointed. On May 16 he had to appear before the Privy Council at Green-

¹ See pp. 59, 76.

² *Grantham Parish Register*.

³ Appendix, pp. 194-95.

wich, evidently in connection with this dispute.¹ Eleven days later we find him writing to Burghley from London, describing his difficulties. He would not trouble Burghley, "if the harde dealings are offerd me were ordynary, or I as mortyfyed and patient as the Apostels to disjest the Crosses of the worlde". The day before, just after he had seen Burghley, and whilst the Queen was still at chapel, the Lord Chamberlain had come to him and ordered him to leave the Court or else he should be imprisoned. Hall tried to explain that he had cleared himself of the charges brought against him, and since a messenger was sent to him at Grantham, he had given attendance, in order that the matter might be tried again. "Being nowe at the Court to seeke means for an end and according to my duty to wayte on her Majesty, I receaved the disgrace mentioned. I know no reason . . . but that my Lady of Sussex can not abyde to loke uppon my evyl face." Hall had sent a messenger some ten days before, desiring a reconciliation, and this was the answer he got. He then complains of the treatment he has received. If it be found he has done wrong, which, of course, it will not, let him be turned out, not only of the Queen's household, but of the world. He asks Burghley to use his influence that he and Lady Sussex may be heard before the whole Council and let each have his due. May Burghley look to it that Hall has "what belongs to an Englishman freborne, a gentleman, and her Majestyes servante".²

In spite of this spirited appeal to Burghley, Hall was before long arrested at the instance of the Lord Chamberlain. Lady Sussex was a powerful enemy, against whom he could not hope to contend with success. He was imprisoned in the Marshalsea,³ and from there, on June 1, he wrote to Burghley, telling him the course of events. "If . . . yt were not my fortune which in my cradle was assured me," he begins, "I can not fynde any peece of a reason why such strang accydents should light uppon me, as hath and doth." Hall then specifies the charges brought against him. They were three in number: "that I commenced suyte of mariage to her, and wold not uppon her short answer desyst therfro: that I had wrytten a booke greatly to her

¹ *Acts of the Privy Council*, XVI, 65.

² See Appendix, p. 195.

³ Not in the Fleet, as stated by Sir S. Lee (*D.N.B.*, XXIV, 57).

dyshonour and that I gazed uppon her at Shrovytyde at the Court to countercountenance her”.

To this Hall replied, that being a gentleman, he considered himself at liberty to marry even the greatest, but knowing the haughtiness of Lady Sussex, he would not have troubled her, had he not received marks of special favour. And “theruppon about the space of two yeares, I contynued to followe what I cam ful short of”. As for the book, he explains that in order to defend himself against her “open and often slanderous, and infamous speeches,” he wrote an account of what had happened. However, he was careful to put down no more “then might be disjested by the nycest dispositions, so that they cam not with prejudyciall mynds”. In order to make his account more “disjestible,” Hall wrote it in the disguised form of a “Hungaryous hystory many yeares past”. It was only the foul speeches of Lady Sussex which induced him to have the book printed. As soon as she heard of its publication, which was in 1586, Lady Sussex sent a messenger asking him to come to her “and to end all unkyndnesse in good tearms and freandship”. This was done, and in the presence of her nephews Sir John and Sir Henry Harrington, Hall gave her the book. Thereupon Lady Sussex extended the hand of friendship to him and promised to think as well of him as before. In the presence of the Haringtons, he then burnt all the printed books but two, which they requested of him, and some two or three he reserved for himself. Those in circulation were suppressed. But notwithstanding this temporary reconciliation, the quarrel broke out again. The Earl of Leicester and the Earl of Warwick, not having read the book, were unwilling to commit Hall to prison, but they allowed themselves to be persuaded by the vehemence of the Lord Chamberlain,¹ who declared that the book was an infamous libel.²

Once in prison, Hall showed his usual stubbornness and turned a deaf ear to all demands for submission. On July 20³ he again wrote to Burghley from the Marshalsea, complaining bitterly that he should have been imprisoned for a private offence,

¹ Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon; through his mother he was first cousin to Elizabeth and exercised great influence at Court. He was the successor of the Earl of Sussex as Lord Chamberlain, and is known for his patronage of the drama.

² See Appendix, p. 197.

³ It is curious to reflect that the day before, the Spanish Armada had been sighted off the Lizard and the great struggle begun.

which had no connection with the State. As for acknowledging his misdeeds, he cannot be expected, he says, "to confesse a fault, where I have made none; to vouch untruths contrary to myne owne assured knowledg: to affyrme that my Lady of Sussex most impudent slanders, and fables be sounde and honorable reportes: or that when I am wrongfully beaten, I must say I am favorably chastised, and wyllingly kys the rod". He wishes his case might have been examined by the whole Council, and for every day's imprisonment they might think him to merit, he would willingly undergo ten. Finally, he requests Burghley to mention his case to the Queen, if an opportunity should offer. He trusts she will still have a good opinion of him, notwithstanding the wiles of his enemies.¹

Accustomed to comfort and good society as he was, Hall found himself in no pleasant position, for he tells Burghley that he is surrounded by pirates, traitors, and beggars. This was very different from his previous experience in the Tower, where he had spent only seven weeks as a political prisoner. But in spite of all these discomforts he would not yield. Burghley seems to have used his influence on Hall's behalf, but even he could not contrive to have him released, for the Queen herself was filled with anger at Hall. Apparently Burghley advised him to submit and at the same time saw to it that he was transferred to a more suitable prison. At any rate, when we next hear of Hall, he is in the Fleet. The latter seems to have been of a somewhat better class, for Palgrave, in 1530, defines it as "a prisone for gentylmen".² It was originally intended for prisoners committed to the Court of the Star Chamber, but with the conditions then prevailing in gaols, one wonders if Hall had improved his position by the change.

From the Fleet, on August 26, 1588, Hall wrote to Burghley thanking him for his efforts. He tells him that his son, Cecil Hall, has heard from the Earl of Leicester and Lord Hunsdon that an acknowledgment of the offence committed against Lady Sussex is essential. Hall admits the offence—"I have so don, but moved therto, by what she would be more ashamed of, yf all were well knowen, then I have cause to greve at my imprisonment, yf I looke into the weight of my offence". He expresses his willingness to serve any of the Council to the uttermost, but

¹ See Appendix, pp. 197-98.

² *New English Dictionary*, IV, Pt. I, p. 311.

relies upon their wisdom "that they wyl not perswade, and lesse force any gentleman to yelde to what shal be to hys reproche, and the mayntenance of pryde and untruthe". Sooner than yield to Lady Sussex, he beseeches God to deprive him of his power of speech or the use of his hand. It is true that she is a great lady, in attendance on the Queen, but her conduct is unworthy of the position she holds. In any case, Hall stoutly adds, "I accompt my selfe not the least smale joyte her inferyoure". All he asks for is justice, nor does he despair of obtaining it. He intends to continue his supplication to the Queen and the Council. Being assured that they "wyl permytt the lawes of the Lande to be injoyed by every subject, so wyll I humbly request that I may have the fruytion of them". The letter concludes with the pathetic statement that he would be glad to go home for a while to look after his house and small stock. But if it cannot be, he must resignedly say with Æneas, "*Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem*".¹

Hall had not changed his mind on October 23, 1588, when he wrote to Burghley to acknowledge his obligations to his old guardian. Part of the letter deals with the attitude of the Queen in the matter. Hall tells Burghley that he is heartily sorry to hear the Queen is so incensed against him, but he has done nothing to deserve her displeasure. He wishes she only knew as much about his efforts to gain her favour as she does about the false reports spread against him. "If my behavyour," he exclaims, "be thought to crave the denyall of my request to be hearde, or to injoye the Laws of the realme, wherunder I am borne, I would to God yt wolde stande with her Highnes good liking, to have the same thorowly examyned, and being founde culpable, to abyde the rigour of Justice." Since leaving Burghley's service some twenty-four or twenty-five years before, in which he wishes he had remained, he has "abydden many Crosses". From the Queen he has had no benefits, but has often tasted of her "bytter conceyt" against him, without being able to defend himself. Hall's plight was growing worse, for the Lord Chamberlain refused to pay him his money, with the result that his want was extreme. He contemplated having himself removed by a writ of *Habeas Corpus* to the King's Bench, when, if no cause

¹ Appendix, pp. 198-99. The concluding quotation is a favourite one with Hall, and occurs several times in his correspondence (cf. p. 63).

could be shown for keeping him in prison, he would be released. Hitherto he had refrained from doing this on account of the Queen's displeasure, and even now he waits for Burghley's approval.¹

The tone of this letter is perceptibly milder than that of Hall's preceding epistles, and in the following month he submitted. Different motives doubtless combined to weaken his resolve not to yield. The approach of winter gloom and cold, and the prospect of celebrating Christmas in prison, instead of with his family at Grantham, were the reverse of cheering. Moreover, other forces were at work, which could not but influence a courtier like Hall. The defeat of the Armada had been followed by all kinds of rejoicings, in which Court and people alike took part. Thanksgiving services were held at the Cross in front of St. Paul's and in the cathedral itself. The banners captured from the Spaniards fluttered in the wind on London Bridge. In November a general holiday was proclaimed to celebrate the victory with bonfires and thanksgiving services. On Sunday, November 24, the Queen, attended by the Court and the Privy Council, drove to St. Paul's in a chariot drawn by four white horses. Some report of all these ceremonies and rejoicings must have reached Arthur Hall's ears as he lay in the pestilent atmosphere of the Fleet. The contrast between the merrymaking outside and his own surroundings was galling. The place of Arthur Hall, Esquire, was not in a squalid prison cell but in the gay train of nobles and courtiers who followed Elizabeth to St. Paul's. And one word of submission, humiliating though it might be to so proud a spirit, would suffice to procure his release!

Thoughts such as these must have passed through Hall's mind, for four days after this great festival, we find him writing from the Fleet² to say he has handed in his submission to the Council. He complains of the behaviour of the Lord Chamberlain. When the latter received the submission, he carped at its being addressed to the whole Council and not to those who had committed Hall. As soon as the messenger returned with the corrected submission and a letter asking for the Lord Chamberlain's favour, he "fell into such Choler, as the messenger was weary

¹ See Appendix, pp. 199-200.

² So he had not been removed to the King's Bench.

of hys office, and I sorry to heare the report of my letters answer". However, Hall adds, "I have no reliefe but pacyence, and the onley *Solamen* I receave by your honorable favour". Hall had certainly no reason to be specially grateful towards Lord Hunsdon, and cannot refrain from retailing a little gossip about him. He tells Burghley he hears that the Lord Chamberlain has been made Master of Game to Lady Sussex, and, he adds maliciously, rumour has it that "my Lord hath lightned som of my Ladyes bags".¹ Poor Hall! he was nothing if not human. Hitherto he had decidedly come off second best, and was quite entitled to any satisfaction he might obtain from circulating reports of this kind.

Having made his submission, Hall doubtless hoped to be set at liberty without delay. In this he was destined to be grievously disappointed, for time passed and still he was kept in the Fleet. By the beginning of February 1589, his spirit was entirely broken, and in moving terms he addressed a letter of entreaty to Burghley. In his appeal, which has a ring of real suffering in it, Hall tells how the day before, February 1, his daughter² had "moved her majesty to be gratiouse to me". "I can not wryte yt without teares," continues the dejected Hall, "her Highnes answer was, the place I remayned in, was to good for me, and Bedlem a fyttter; If I deserve Bedlem, I am sorry for yt: Good my Lord, speake for me, that I may have Justice, and yf worse then Bedlem hap to me, I wyl take yt in good part". If the Queen thinks so ill of him, let all his possessions be confiscated, with allowance made for his children, and he is willing to be confined wherever her Majesty may choose. The way in which the Queen spoke of him cut Hall to the quick. The word "Bedlem" stung him, and Elizabeth's contempt appeared to him a poor reward for his long service. Despairingly he ends his letter: "God kepe your honour; he hold me in your good opynyon, and sende my better fortune or quickly my grave".³

When Hall was released is not known, but he must have lain in prison at least seven months. His enemy did not live long, however, to enjoy her triumph. Her death took place on

¹ Appendix, p. 200.

² Probably Ursula Hall, who married Arthur Porter of Grantham (see p. 97).

³ Appendix, p. 200-1.

March 9, 1589, and if Hall had not been set free before, he probably regained his liberty soon after this date.¹ Hall's quarrel with Lady Sussex, which ended so disastrously for him, is no isolated phenomenon in his life. Time after time his cantankerous and passionate disposition got the better of him, and before long he was even embroiled with his protector and benefactor, Lord Burghley.

¹ Lady Sussex, the daughter of Sir William Sidney, was buried in Westminster Abbey. A monument to her, with a porcupine at her feet, is still to be seen there in St. Paul's Chapel. By her will she left £5000 for the foundation of a College at Cambridge to be called the Lady Frances Sidney-Sussex College. The bequest was carried out by her executors and the foundation of the college was laid in 1596. It still possesses an anonymous portrait of the foundress (*D.N.B.*, xlvii, 143).

CHAPTER X.

HALL'S RELATIONS WITH LORD BURGHLEY.

IT might have been expected that Hall's bitter experience would have taught him to cling to the one man who had both the power and the inclination to help him. However, Hall was anything but reasonable. Feeling discontented with the course his life had from time to time been taking, he turned upon his old guardian and contrived to offend him.

Such estrangements were not entirely new, but their relations never came so near to breaking-point as about 1591. A glance backwards is not without interest, for it will show what Hall had expected of Burghley and in what measure he had been disappointed. As early as 1570, we find that he had been applying to the then Sir William Cecil for the wardship of a certain Mr. Hutchinson. His request had been refused, nominally in order that the mother might have charge of the child, but in reality, according to Hall, to please the Duke of Bedford. The aggrieved Hall declares that often enough, poor man though he may be, he has preferred Cecil to earls and their greaters. However, he must think himself the unhappy husbandman who has chanced on a barren farm, and resign himself to his misfortunes. He then concludes by apologising for his outspokenness, but it will never be found that he is one of those who openly fawn and secretly murder. Apparently Cecil wrote a rather sharp reply, and told Hall that his friendship was decidedly troublesome, for two days later the young suitor apologised. He declared that "you can have no more of the cat than the skin," and this Cecil always has had and always will have in his case.¹

This incident illustrates Hall's expectations of his old guardian, and shows that when they were not fulfilled a certain dissatisfaction came over him. It became all the more marked as his financial condition grew worse. The Lord Treasurer

¹ *Cal. Salisbury MSS.*, Pt. I, p. 489.

had so many opportunities of bestowing favours and yet nothing came Hall's way. His discontent, repressed though it might be, swelled considerably during his hearing of the quarrel with Mallory in the House of Commons. Burghley does not seem to have espoused the cause of his former ward as warmly as the latter would have wished. In the sitting of March 6, 1576, "M. Treasurer," as Hall tells us, "as indifferent bare him self". Elsewhere in the *Letter*, we are informed that Hall trusted most of all in Mr. Hatton and Sir Henry Knyvett. It would seem, therefore, that he already bore Burghley a grudge for his lack of sympathy. The fact that Burghley did not prevent Hall's imprisonment in the Tower was a further source of ill-will, and the Lord Treasurer's helplessness, whether feigned or real, in the matter of Lady Sussex, brought this long repressed dissatisfaction to a head.

Yet it is far from certain that Burghley was greatly to blame in the matter. It cannot be denied that, as far as was consistent with his own interests and the dictates of his prudence, he showed himself a staunch friend to Hall. In spite of the latter's wild conduct and criticism of one who had always helped him, Burghley continued to lend him his support. In fact, when his judgment was not warped by disappointments for which he alone was responsible, Hall was the first to acknowledge his obligations to Burghley. From the *Letter* we see how highly he valued Burghley's good opinion, and how painful it was for him to be slandered by Mallory to his old guardian. At the same time we perceive how reluctant the latter was to believe Mallory's statements. "He tolde M. Mallorie he was sory if all were true he tolde him." Hall then goes on to pay a generous tribute to Burghley. "How tenderly he hath alwayes loued M. Hal in his youth, being brought up in his house at Schole, how carefully he hath fauored hym beyng his seruauant, and what bountie he hath vsed towarde hym, since he preferred hym to hyr Majesties seruice, all the worlde knowes."

Moreover, if we look back at the different crises in which Hall begged for Burghley's aid, it will be found that the latter had no easy position himself just at these junctures. At the moment when Hall and Mallory were bickering in London, Burghley had fallen into disgrace with Elizabeth. Having gone to Buxton for his health's sake, he was slandered by his enemies

at Court, who poisoned the Queen's mind, saying the journey was but a pretext that he might meet Mary, Queen of Scots, and privately confer with her. Elizabeth's jealousy was awakened, and Burghley was made to feel the royal frown.

In 1581, when Hall's case was being discussed in the Commons, there were apparently no outward circumstances to prevent Burghley's intervention. But obviously, it would have been highly imprudent on his part, and counter to his own interests, had he attempted to protect Hall from the outraged Lower House. And, as we have seen, the volume of feeling was such that even Burghley's authority would scarcely have sufficed to shield the culprit. Burghley can hardly be blamed, then, for not laying himself open to criticism in what was a hopeless cause. The course which he took, to urge Hall to submit and thus appease the House, was perhaps the wisest even in Hall's interests.

But Hall was the last man in the world to understand prudential motives, and failed to appreciate Burghley's support at its true value. Being once more angered by his former guardian's reluctance to help him in the affair of Lady Sussex, Hall therefore openly reproached him with unkindness. About this time again, Burghley had his mind fully occupied with maintaining his own position. Mary, Queen of Scots, was executed on February 8, 1587, and Elizabeth, though possibly glad at heart, made a scapegoat of the Lord Treasurer. He was forced to retire from Court, and, in spite of his entreaties, was for some time denied access to his sovereign. He would therefore hardly care to run the gauntlet a second time in the following year, on behalf of one whose connection with him belonged to the past. The Queen herself was furious with the man who had libelled one of the ladies in attendance on her own person. Who would censure Burghley for hesitating to incur Elizabeth's displeasure under these circumstances? Leicester's intrigues compelled him to be wary in his doings and not to give his rivals opportunity for attack. His conduct with regard to Arthur Hall may not have been heroic, but it cannot be denied that he repeatedly showed his good will, as far as was consistent with his own interests and his natural caution.

Hall himself, however, believed that he had just cause for complaint. This frame of mind, which was perhaps not unnatural, is illustrated by two letters to Burghley in 1591. The

first, written on February 17 from a place unnamed, shows that Hall had accused Burghley of unfriendliness. This accusation Burghley asserted to be unfounded, and retorted that Hall's behaviour to him left something to be desired. In reply, Hall acknowledges the favours he received at the time of his imprisonment in the Tower and again in the matter of Lady Sussex. He also apologises for having reminded Burghley of his efforts to serve the Lord Treasurer. "I am sorry that the greefe of my mynde hath forcd me to wryte what poore good wyl I have borne youe." Yet in spite of this apparently submissive tone, one feels that Hall was by no means convinced that Burghley had done his utmost for him.¹

This impression is confirmed by Hall's next letter to Burghley, written only nine days later, in which he frankly states all his grievances. He declares that he had always lived peaceably with his neighbours (a statement which is not borne out by facts) until William Porter of Grantham used against him certain words spoken at Hall's own table. The matter had been taken up by the Bishop of Lincoln and two old enemies of Hall, Justice Monson and Anthony Thorold. They had found a useful ally in Richard More, the receiver for the County. Hall had suffered much at his hands. "The sayed More claymes and holdes Landes of myne, contrary to hys owne hande and othe; he hath purchased pretended tytles to other Landes of myne; he hath most slaunderously touched my poore house; he hath wrytten most infamous reprochful and false letters to the Justices of peace ageynst me; he hath most impudently in hys wryting belyed me touching the Quenes Majestye and also in them spoken untruly and undutyfully of her Highnes; he hath informed the Justice of Assise with as many untruthes as almost he hath wrytten lynes." Hall reminds Burghley of his promise, made more than a year before, to see that justice was done, if Hall would state in detail the wrongs he had received from More. Now he asks that this promise shall be fulfilled. "I crave but your favorable goodnes to me, my sonne and myne ageynst a most leude beggars bratt, a neue upstart in our Contrey and (pardon me, my Lord, yf greefe make me to playne) your Lordship ether beleaves hym to much, who almost never sayes

¹ Appendix, pp. 201-2.

true, or me to lyttle, who what so ever any man thinke wyl never be founde false of my speech."

After complaining that in spite of his twenty-seven years in the Queen's service he has received no reward, and that though Burghley has granted him his favour no wealth has accrued from it, Hall concludes with the exclamation: "Let not Arth. Hall have cause to saye, my Lord, which to many do, that ether my Lord Thresorer cares not for many of hys poore freandes or myndes them not".¹

This appeal does not seem to have fallen on deaf ears, for no further mention of the matter occurs in Hall's correspondence. But the position of Burghley's former ward had not improved in the interval. From one cause or another he was greatly impoverished and unable to meet certain claims the Exchequer had on him. In his plight, Hall as usual turned to Burghley for help. On May 30, 1597, he had to appear before the Privy Council and answer certain matters laid to his charge.² With some misgivings Hall wrote to Burghley on June 26, not to make an appeal, but to prepare the ground, for he had been on bad terms with his benefactor. From this we gather that Burghley had offered to do what he could for Hall, if the latter would cease his complaints of unkindness received at Burghley's hands. Hall humbly promises to mend his ways, and is evidently much relieved by Burghley's favourable attitude. Burghley's letter is in keeping with his nature, in that it does not "harmie those who in faythfull meaning, tho they have erred, would buy your favour very deere". It "hath baulmed the deepe wounde, conceyte told me I had: yea, yt hath a greater vertue then ever the Chiefe Baulme, that of Egipt, yt hath clene sweeped away and stopped up the sears and bleding of my mynde: which other Baulme is, and was, in force to worke the same effect in fleshe".³

Once he had apologised, Hall was not long in laying his trouble before Burghley. From his letter of June 29, we learn that one Robert Bond, who owed the Queen money, now called upon Arthur Hall, to whom he had lent £400, to pay this sum to the Barons of the Exchequer. "Altho my poverty be greate,"

¹ Appendix, pp. 202-3. Richard More was J.P. in 1584, later became M.P. for Grantham, and died there on August 10, 1595 (Maddison, *op. cit.*, Harl. Soc., LI, 687). Buried at Grantham on August 11 (*Grantham Parish Register*).

² *Acts of the Privy Council*, XXVII, 155-56.

³ Appendix, p. 204.

says Hall, "yet I humbly besech your Lordship not to suppose me so leude, that I would retayne any mony of any man, who shold put me in trust to pay." He complains that his lands have been seized for debt, and begs leave to assign to the Queen certain money owing him by the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Delaware, and others.¹

Apparently Burghley did not move in the matter, so Hall wrote to him once more on November 29, restating his case in brief terms. This appeal doubtless produced the desired effect, for Burghley sent the letter on to the official concerned with an appendix: "Mr. Baron Clarke, I pray yowe to consider of this request, and if yowe knowe no cause to the Contrary, I pray yowe lett him have an assignment".² Once more Burghley had proved a friend in need, and on February 24, 1598, Hall wrote to thank him "for your greate Honorable favours in my behalfe, signified to the Barons of the Excheaquer, and Mr. Fanshawe". He concludes by expressing his desire to serve Burghley, "dayly beseching God to kepe and prosper your Lordship".³ As a matter of fact, Burghley's earthly course was nearly run. Bearing in mind that he was destined to pass away a little more than five months later, one cannot help a feeling of satisfaction at this reconciliation of ward and guardian. In spite of Hall's complaints and reproaches he held Burghley in high esteem, and for the dying statesman it must have been a consoling thought that he had done his duty by his old ward even to the end.

¹ Appendix, pp. 204-5.

² *Ibid.*, p. 205.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

CHAPTER XI.

HALL AS A COUNTRY GENTLEMAN.

WHAT we have hitherto seen of Hall's conduct proves him to have been of an unusually proud and quarrelsome nature. In his saner moments, he was perfectly conscious of his weaknesses. Thus in the *Letter* he describes his character in the following terms: "Ouerweenyng of himselfe, whiche brings many infirmities to the persone which is infected with that canker, furious when he is contraried, without pacience to take tyme to iudge or doubte the daunger of the sequele . . . so implacable if he conceyue an iniurie, as Sylla will rather be pleased with Marius, than he with his equals, in a maner for offences growne of tryfles".¹ This is an excellent description of the man and his ways. Obviously, Hall was not a quiet and peace-loving neighbour. A glance at his life in the country will show us in rustic surroundings the counterpart of his life at Court.

However legitimate Hall's pride, it was not calculated to increase his popularity nor to win him favour. Although it must needs be borne by his inferiors, his equals were certainly not disposed to put up with his airs in silence. Hence the repeated disputes in which he was involved. One of the first of his neighbours whom Hall quarrelled with was William Porter of Grantham. Their hostility seems to date back to 1574, for on October 7 of that year the Privy Council intervened. From Hampton Court the Council caused a letter to be directed to Hall, ordering that he should forbear the execution of a process on the Statute of the Staple against Porter, until they had spoken with him. "In case he could not cume, then to certifie their Lordships

¹ It is curious to note that among the chief characteristics of Hall's great-uncle, Sir Robert Wingfield, are described pedantry, pride, and contentiousness (*D.N.B.*, LXII, 193). Hall had his share of pedantry, and for pride and contentiousness he rivalled Sir Robert Wingfield.

how the matter standeth betwene them, whereto they minde to retorne unto him their aunswer." ¹

As to the upshot of this quarrel we know nothing, but even if a temporary reconciliation took place, hostilities were afterwards renewed, and in 1586 we find Hall and Porter at loggerheads once more. The latter, who had been member for Grantham in 1554, seems to have been Hall's great rival in the town. Each of them possessed considerable influence and aspired to dominate local affairs. The quarrel of 1586 arose out of a mere trifle such as often causes bitterness entirely disproportionate to its importance. On October 15 of this year, Arthur Hall wrote to Lord Burghley about certain objections made by the aldermen of Grantham concerning the schoolmaster, Francis Somersall. Hall had taken the pedagogue under his protection and now attempted to refute the charges of the aldermen.

We learn that the townsmen "about fyve yeares past, uppon pure malice, therto lead by the provocation of suche as were contraryes to me, did erecte an other schole to be taught in the twone (sic!) which ever synce contynued, the scholemaster whereof is most ignorante and wholly unlearned, to whome neverthelesse they yerely send some and those the best out of the Grammer schole". One of the "contraryes" who established the rival school appears to have been William Porter. It was only natural that after a time, when matters came to a head, an attempt should be made to remove Hall's schoolmaster. Porter and the townsmen he had won over to his side, knowing that Burghley had in his boyhood been educated at Grantham and therefore was much interested in the local schools, appealed to him for support against Hall. They declared that Somersall was unlearned, that his scholars did not profit under him and that he was of evil life. To the first charge, Hall indignantly replies: "he haith bene Master of Arte these fortene yeres, and reade before he cam out of the university, three yeres togyther the phylosophye lectoure in Jesus Colledge in Cambridge: and what his learninge is, let profe shewe". The other accusations Hall likewise refused to recognise.

It is not without interest to see what claims were put forward and admitted as to the right of nominating and dismissing the schoolmaster. According to Hall, the aldermen and the bur-

¹ *Acts of the Privy Council*, VIII, 294.

gesses elected the schoolmaster, who was admitted by the patron. But the latter, though he had authority to prefer him, could not remove the schoolmaster. The right of dismissal rested with the bishop of the diocese, when it was proved that the schoolmaster was incompetent, or an evil liver, or had committed an offence against the law. Now, however, the aldermen claimed the right of dismissal, which Hall contests, for "in common reason," he says, "what inconvenience were it that once an Alderman, by occupation a Shoemaker or Butcher should at his pleasure remove a scholemaster: for if that were graunted, as Aldermen are yerely affected, the scholemaster should be altered".

As for Burghley himself, whilst not admitting the claims of the aldermen, he was unfavourably disposed to Somersall. During a conversation with Hall, he declared that he would provide Somersall should not have his ways. To overcome Burghley's dislike of Somersall, and win him over to their side, Hall proceeds to show that Porter and his party had been lacking in respect towards Burghley. In 1570, orders had been drawn up by Thomas, Bishop of Lincoln, and signed by Burghley, which dealt with the possibility of a dispute between the aldermen and the schoolmaster. In such a case the alderman, or his fellows, or any two of them empowered by the rest, were to go to the Bishop of Lincoln, or in his absence to the Archdeacon, and, in the presence of the schoolmaster, declare what the cause of the controversy was. It was in connection with these orders that Porter's party had shown discourtesy to Burghley. Hall tells the latter that the orders "were likewise in a table hounge up in the schole, but the same by their malyce to him whoe then hong yt, torne in peeces, yet in secrett, tho the profe *Extat*. The copye of the saide orders, tho many tymes requested uppon their quarrylinge with the now scholemaster to diverte him self accordingly, they nether would graunte, whereby appeared plainly their indyrecte dealinge".¹

We are in ignorance as to the result of this quarrel and the appeal to Burghley, but there is evidence to show that Porter's hostility continued. In Hall's letter to Burghley of February 26, 1591, he mentions Porter as one of his enemies who have inflicted great injuries on him.² Porter was buried at Grantham on December 7, 1592,³ so in all probability the bitter feud con-

¹ MSS. Lansdowne, Vol. 51, No. 19.

² Grantham Parish Register.

³ Appendix, p. 202.

tinued until the end. A reconciliation was not effected until the next generation of the two families. Arthur Porter, the son of the above-mentioned William, married Arthur Hall's daughter Ursula on April 1, 1606, when both their parents had passed away. From this it almost seems as if the unforgiving Arthur Hall had refused to allow the marriage, and then, three months after his death, the young couple, being free to do as they chose, followed their own inclinations.¹

In the list of enemies banded together against Hall in 1591, we find another name, the Bishop of Lincoln. Here again the hostility was not of recent date, but resulted from a long-standing feud. On October 3, 1579, Thomas Cowper, Bishop of Lincoln, complained to the Privy Council of certain misdemeanours on the part of Arthur Hall. At the end of the month, the Council therefore summoned the offender to appear before them and answer the charges brought against him. Hall admitted having refused to receive certain letters from the bishop demanding his appearance at Lincoln, but he denied having uttered contemptuous speeches with regard to his grace at Ancaster, as, for instance: "Yf Mr. Bushoppe trompe at me in this wise (meaning his dealing by their Lordships' order aboute the boke) I wil trompe at him and make his exercises knowen to the Quene".²

The Privy Council thereupon required that witnesses should be brought forward who could prove that Hall had made such disrespectful statements about the bishop. But the only evidence forthcoming was that of Richard More, another bitter enemy of Hall's, with whom we are familiar from the complaints of the latter to Lord Burghley.³ The Council consequently informed the bishop that "they caused the said Moore to appeare before their Lordships to charg Arthure Hall face to face therwith, and uppon good and deliberate hearing of their answeres and replies in that behaulf, their Lordships finding that Moore coulede produce none other wittness but him self for the verifieng of the speaches againste A. Hall, and considering that they are in disfrindshippe together by reason of some quarrells and contro-

¹ See Maddison, *op. cit.*, Harl. Soc., LII, 792. They had one daughter Jane, baptised February 20, 1608, and buried at Grantham October 25, 1609. Arthur Porter himself lived until 1628.

² The book referred to was in all probability Hall's notorious *Letter* (see pp. 68, 125).

³ Cf. p. 91.

versyes depending betwene them, their Lordships sawe no cause to creditte the sole assertion of the said More againste Hall ". Although nothing could be proved against Hall, yet one must admit that it is just the sort of thing he would probably say, respect for authority not being a strong point with him. Hall had the pleasure of triumphing over More, but he himself was ordered to apologise to the bishop.¹

These worthy inhabitants of Lincolnshire would have been men after Dr. Johnson's own heart, for they were nothing if not good haters. To what lengths enmity could go in Elizabethan England we see in the case of Hall's quarrel with Sir Anthony Thorold, Knight, who lived at Marston, near Grantham. Thorold was a person of considerable importance in that locality, having been member for Grantham in 1557, and high sheriff for Lincolnshire in 1571. Originally, Hall and Thorold were on excellent terms, but after their quarrel, this friendship was transformed into implacable hatred. By one of the ironies of fate, we find Hall and Thorold appointed by the Privy Council in 1579 to inquire into an affray, which had taken place either at Grantham or Stamford.²

Only three years later an inquiry was necessary into a quarrel between Hall and Thorold, which had caused no small stir in their part of Lincolnshire. Our knowledge of the facts is derived from a detailed account by Hall entitled "The Demeanour of Anthony Tarold, Esquire, his sonne William and John Markham, Esquire, towards Arthur Hall, Esquire".³ From this we learn that on October 19, 1582, Thorold addressed a letter to the aldermen and corporation of Grantham with regard to the election of the new alderman. Hall seems to have resented Thorold's action as being an encroachment on his sphere of influence. On October 27 he therefore wrote to Thorold on this matter. Though we are told nothing of the contents of the letter, a slight acquaintance with Hall and his ways will suffice to convince us that the protest was not tempered with moderation. Early on the morning of November 2, when Hall was "new risen," a messenger came from Thorold with a letter and departed, as soon as it was delivered, "although he were intreated to stay and drinke by two severall persons at the house". Such a refusal seemed very ex-

¹ *Acts of the Privy Council*, XI, 293, 306, 313, 326-27.

² *Ibid.*, 259.

³ *MSS. Lansdowne*, Vol. 31, No. 22.

traordinary to Hall, and he, suspecting that the letter contained matter prejudicial to his reputation, returned it unopened to Thorold. Hall explains that the latter was too old for "any convenient challenge" to be made, and so he thought it best not to read the letter.

Notwithstanding his old age, however, Thorold lacked neither spirit nor enterprise. He was bent on insulting Hall and thus bringing matters to a head. On November 3, Hall received another letter, which was supposed to have been delivered to one Richard Wollins, a vintner of Grantham, who stated that it came from a great friend of Hall's in London. On unfolding the letter, the first thing Hall saw was the signature of the obnoxious Anthony Thorold. He therefore sent back the letter unread to Wollins, but after dinner, reflecting that what Thorold had written, no doubt of an offensive nature, could now be read by all, he proceeded to the George Inn at Grantham and took Wollins to task. Then, demanding the letter, he tore it to pieces and declared that he had not read it himself, nor should anyone else. Meeting another gentleman, Mr. Thomas Elles,¹ Hall said he had been knavishly used and was unwilling to take action against Thorold on account of his age, "but that if the said Tarold had anie malice to him, and would send him any message by any one the said Arthur his equall, wherby the want in Tarold aforesaid might be satisfied, he would aunswere him in all respects". A servant of Thorold's, named Page, happening to overhear these words, defended his master, whereupon Hall, in his usual amiable manner, offered to strike him with his dagger.

A reply from the other side was soon forthcoming. On the afternoon of November 5, Thorold's son William rode to the George Inn at Grantham, accompanied by eleven horsemen armed with swords, bucklers, and gauntlets, not to speak of footmen carrying staves. The head of this warlike party explained to the citizens of Grantham that "he came thether to call the said Arthur knave, whom he avouched to be A boy and an arrogaunt foole". He further declared that Hall's insulting behaviour to the elder Thorold was due to his having drunk too

¹ Probably Thomas Ellis of Paunton, still alive on October 21, 1584, son of Anthony Ellis of Swineshead and Paunton, merchant of the Staple of Calais in 1537 (see Maddison, *op. cit.*, I, 321). Leland, in his *Itinerary*, I, 28, mentions amongst the gentlemen of Kesteven, Lincs., the family of "Elis, greatly risen by Marchaundise".

much wine with his oysters. In the meantime four or five of his followers seized upon Thomas Taylour, an unarmed servant of Hall's, and wounded him in the hand. Whilst they were attacking another servant of Hall's, William More by name, the wounded Taylour escaped and rode at full speed to tell his master. On hearing the news, Hall with a friend and a few followers hastened to the town, but found Thorold and his men gone.

Two days later the Thorold party made its appearance on the estate of Arthur Hall. Twenty-three horsemen, fully armed with swords, gauntlets, and bucklers, showed themselves at the stone pits hard by Hall's house, on the pretence of hawking. As they continued to loiter about, a number of Hall's friends and servants, amongst them a bachelor of divinity of Cambridge, who discreetly remained "further off," proceeded to challenge the intruders. The younger Thorold declared that his purpose in coming was to say that Hall was a knave and an arrogant fool and always had been. Hall's friend Bawds replied that these "were great wordes, and such as Mr. Hall's patience could not well brooke, As they should have found, if he had bene at home". One of Thorold's men wished he had, then "we might have gott a heat this colde morninge". To which Hall's servant Hanson drily remarked, that he might perhaps have been overheated. Thorold's friend, John Markham,¹ insinuated that Hall was "*in Latebris*," but Bawds declared that Hall was not the one to hide his face for any man. Finally Thorold and his followers departed, although certain of his men armed with long "piked staves" were afterwards found lurking under hedges in Hall's fields. The next day, November 8, they all appeared again, this time with greyhounds on the pretence of coursing.

Owing to Hall's absence from home, however, nothing happened. On the evening of November 9 Hall returned, and the following day a number of his tenants and friends came to his house, in order to defend him against Thorold and his men. The threatening speeches of Thorold had alarmed them, for he went about declaring that he "was able with his frends to plucke the said Arthur out of his house by the eares, and would doe so, and was able to plucke downe the house on his head". After

¹ Probably John Markham, Esq., of Sidbrook, who became Sheriff of Lincolnshire on November 24, 1589.

dinner Hall asked his friends to go home, as he thought there would be no need to call on their services, and he desired to "goe sleape". When they had gone, he set out with some nine or ten of his own men and walked through his grounds towards Belton. But before long he discovered that his friends, anxious for his safety, were following him at a distance and repeatedly begged them to return home. Finally, as he tells us, "he being drie with going so furr, toke five persons with him, and went into the house of his neighbour and frend Mr. Charles Hussey and called for a cupp of Beare and dranke".¹

The same day the Thorolds had been turning the whole district upside down. It happened to be the hiring-fair at Billington, about a mile and a half from Marston, the residence of the Thorolds. The latter had assembled a large number of servants, retainers, and others and declared that Hall intended to come with Sir Thomas Cecil and "plucke Tarold out of his house perforce or fire it on his head". A messenger was sent on horseback in all haste to Billington with the news that Thorold's house was on fire. At Westborough, the church bells were rung to levy the people, and from Billington a crowd of six hundred to a thousand people, led by the chief constable Brian, an old servant of Thorold's and a "Baily erraunt," hastened to Marston. However, this was merely much ado about nothing. Hall and Thorold never actually came to blows, and on November 10 we find the former proceeding to the George Inn at Grantham and eating his dinner there in solemn state, surrounded by armed servants, in order to prove that he was not afraid to show himself. But as Thorold continued to spread spiteful reports about Hall, giving him the lie, and declaring him to be "false and vainglorious in the behalf of his owne discent," complaint was made to Lord Burghley. The latter intervened, and requested the Earl of Lincoln to commit the examination of the matter to a number of Lincolnshire gentlemen. On November 20 the Earl of Lincoln replied that he thought it unfitting that he himself should meddle with the affair, as Thorold was his steward.² Finally, the Earl of Rutland was appointed to make inquiries and, if possible, to conciliate the two enemies. On November 29 Roger Manners

¹ Charles Hussey the younger, styled of Belton, August 14, 1583 (see Maddison, *op. cit.*, II, 529).

² *Cal. Salisbury MSS.*, Pt. 13, p. 211.

wrote to him from the Savoy, saying he was glad to hear that Thorold in his old age had become so lively that he was charged with making a riot or an unlawful assembly. He hoped that Rutland had composed the matter between Hall and Thorold. It was probably in the hope of winning Rutland's favour and of nullifying any effect which Thorold's slanders might have produced, that Hall on November 16, 1582, presented him with a number of "printed books".¹

We have dealt hitherto with those quarrels of Arthur Hall's which sent an unusual stir of excitement through the district where he was so prominent a figure. But there must have been smaller affairs on which a man of his quarrelsome nature would seize to make trouble. The usual opportunities for the country gentleman to go to law, such as cases of poaching, pulling down of hedges, seizure of sheep or corn, enclosing of land, felling of wood, resisting by force of distress on land, disputes about rights of way, watercourses, and weirs—all these sources of litigation must have presented themselves to him. A glance at the list of lawsuits in Chancery at this time will show that Hall made ample use of his opportunities.²

Now and then, however, Hall's gaze passed beyond the narrow confines of his own interests to observe the lot of his fellow-creatures. Towards the end of the sixteenth century the conditions prevailing in Lincolnshire and the neighbouring counties were discouraging. Owing to a series of wet years and the insufficient drainage of the fens, the low-lying ground had been inundated. The result was a great loss of cattle and a scarcity of corn. The landowners were so much affected that they could scarcely raise the money for the Queen's subsidy. The yeomen and farmers, who had earned their livelihood to a great extent by cattle-breeding, were reduced to penury. The fate of the labourers was even worse. "Some heretofore of

¹ *Cal. Rutland MSS.*, I, 143, 144, 145. Hall's letter of November 16 is, according to the calendar, written from Bamberge, and on December 30, 1592, he addressed a letter to the Countess of Rutland from Bawrberg, which the editor of the calendar interprets as meaning Bambrrough (I, 306). This would seem to be incorrect. In *MSS. Harl.*, 1233, fol. 118, a genealogy is given, in which Arthur Hall's father is styled "Francis Hall of Boresbergh att y^e Heath iuxta Grantham". Boresbergh, or whatever the exact form of the word may have been, was therefore evidently the name of the Halls' house.

² *Calendars of Proceedings in Chancery in the reign of Queen Elizabeth*, I, 397; II, 68, 347; III, 12, 47.

reasonable estate to live," declares a petition to the Queen, "do now, which is most lamentable to be seen, in great numbers, as well persons of middle age as old folks and children, go on begging, and very many have this last year, for want of food, died, to the great discouragement and discomfort of us all".¹ A petition that steps should be taken for draining the fens was therefore drawn up in 1598, amongst the signatories being Henry Hall of Gretford, a cousin of Arthur Hall's.

It was under similar conditions that Arthur Hall himself addressed a letter to Burghley some seven years before this petition was made. In 1590 the dearth had been such, that all export of grain, beer, and other victuals from certain counties, Lincolnshire amongst the rest, had been strictly forbidden.² Yet in 1591, in spite of the bad times, Burghley had been empowered by the Queen to grant licences for the export of "Corne, Graene, and Beare out of the Realme". Hearing this, Hall wrote to his former guardian from London, to point out how necessary it was that all produce should remain in the country. "I stand in good hope," he says, "your Lordship wyl have great care of the poore of thys common wealth, many hondreds wherof I knowe wil be nowe glad of breade, and very smale drinke, so breade, yea pleased with water." He goes on to plead for the suffering poor, although he is acting contrary to his pecuniary interests as a landowner and corn-grower. "Corne is nowe deere with us in the County of Lyncolne (I speake ageynst my selfe, for the better thyrd of my Lyving consystes of Graene, which of myne owne groeth I yearly sel). . . ."³

These words suggest that in spite of his headstrong, self-opinionated ways, and his cantankerous dealings with his neighbours, Hall had an eye to the welfare of the poor. Quarrelsome though he was, he doubtless saw to it that his tenants lacked nothing, and hence the readiness with which they took his side against Thorold. With all his failings Hall was no unfavourable specimen of the country gentleman.

¹ *Cal. Salisbury MSS.*, Pt. 8, p. 243.

² *Acts of the Privy Council*, XX, 31-2.

³ Appendix, p. 203. Was it corn or hay of which the "stuffe" consisted that the Privy Council referred to on June 21, 1575? "A placard for two cartes to be taken up for the bringing of Arthur Hall's stuffe to the Coourte" (*Acts of the Privy Council*, VIII, 401).

CHAPTER XII.

THE CLOSING YEARS OF HALL'S LIFE.

THE last ten years of Arthur Hall's life were embittered by disappointment and straitened circumstances. He was now growing old and was continually harassed by troublesome creditors. Under these circumstances, the death of his enemies could afford him but little satisfaction.¹ From about 1595 onwards, he had scarcely one to quarrel with except the men he owed money to, but the struggle did not and could not result in his favour. The advantage was all on the side of the creditors. For a few years Hall made a brave show, but he was merely staving off the inevitable.²

It is perhaps in this light that we must regard his efforts about this time to find a wife for his eldest son Cecil. Though he himself looked down on everybody and everything connected with trade, he had been obliged to marry the daughter of a goldsmith. So now he sought to marry his son Cecil to the daughter of a London haberdasher, presumably because the latter was well-to-do. Our knowledge of these facts is derived from a complaint made by Arthur Hall in the Star Chamber. This states that about a year before "there was talke and communicacon had" between Arthur Hall on the one part and "John Hotham of Scarbroughe in the east Riding" of Yorkshire, and Christofer Legard of Anlebie in the said county of York on the other part, "touching and concerning a mariadge to be had betwene Cecill Hall, sonne and heire apparent of the said Arthure Hall, and Suzan Legard, dowghter of one John Legard, citizen and haberdasher of London, the kinswoman of the said Christofer Legard, and whose neare kinswoman the said John Hotham had married". As a result of these negotiations, Cecil Hall repaired to the fair Suzan, who resided in the house of John Hotham. He found

¹ Porter died in 1592, Thorold in 1594, and More in 1595.

² Cf. p. 107.

favour in her eyes, and she "did shewe her self in soche kindenes," that Christopher and John resolved that there should be no let or hindrance in them, "that the yonge persones should not joyne together in mariadge". Thereupon, the said John and Christopher came to Arthur Hall's house at Grantham to discuss the marriage, and to decide what lands should be settled on the male heirs of the young couple. On this occasion, Hall "did give soche enterteynment, to his greate costs and charges, as mighte well have contented persones of greater place then the said John Hotham and the said Christofer cann duely challenge to themselves".

At this meeting the parties concerned even went so far as to view the lands to be included in the settlement, and it was agreed that the marriage should go forward with all convenient speed. Further conferences at Scarborough and in London, which put Hall to "exceeding greate charge," confirmed the agreement arrived at concerning the lands. Then, however, Hall discovered that John and Christopher were trying to obtain a part of these lands settled on Suzan, a device they had already attempted with one Gregory of Hull. They sought to poison Suzan's mind against Cecil Hall, "reporting very reprochfull speeches and matters . . . which in respect of their fowlnesse your said subject forbearth in reverence to mencon". Hall decided that they were trying to overreach him, and advised Cecil to procure a citation against Suzan, so that she should be sequestered from her relations, "whereby, ffree accesse being had in honeste sorte betwene the said Cecill Hall and the said Suzan Legard, she might freely deliver her likeing or dislikeing of the said mariadge". And Cecil Hall was "fully persuaded that the said Suzan did beare him so much goodwill" that if she were sequestered she would consent to the marriage. Having obtained a citation, Cecil Hall repaired with one John Pecke to the house of Hotham at Scarborough "in most friendly manner," to serve the same. Hotham did not appreciate their attentions, but "in violence did then and there them assalte, and if they had not the better defended themselves, had ether killed, or at the least wounded or maymed one of them". In spite of the fact that he was a High Commissioner in ecclesiastical causes and ought therefore to have obeyed the citation, Hotham furiously ordered Cecil Hall out of his house and afterwards sent a servant to challenge him to a duel. Some two

months later the case was heard at the ecclesiastical court at York, when Hotham "did with greate othes use and give to the said Cecill most opprobrious words, that ys to say, by gods bloode, thowe lvest in thy throate".

Hotham's double-dealing and his violent conduct seem to have induced Arthur Hall to act as a common informer against him for fishing in the Earl of Northumberland's water at Scarborough and for assaulting Roger Thorpe, a servant of the Earl, who protested against this trespass. Hall accused Hotham of disregarding the "lawes and statutes against Riotte, Route, and unlawfull assemblies," and of gathering together near Scarborough a company armed with swords, daggers, rapiers, long pikestaves, and other manner of weapons, where they beat Roger Thorpe so that he was in peril of his life. On these grounds Hall asked for a writ of *subpœna* to be issued from the Star Chamber against John Hotham and two of his servants. In this manner he expressed his disapproval of a person, who, although a representative of the Queen, disregarded the law and broke the peace. Incidentally, and this was no doubt Hall's chief motive, he revenged himself for the breaking off of the marriage and the slight thus put on himself and his son.¹

The foregoing proceedings show Arthur Hall doomed to disappointment once more. He seems to have had a veritable genius for quarrelling. The condescending reference to the rank of the prospective bride's family indicates clearly enough that there was a strong attraction, probably in the shape of money, to compensate for this drawback. The expense to which Hall had been put by the negotiations for the marriage must have been a heavy drain on his resources. It can therefore cause no surprise to find him in 1597 appealing to Burghley for help in financial matters, and although a letter of February 24, 1598, acknowledges the kindness of his old guardian, the relief was only temporary. Burghley's death some five months later was a heavy blow for Arthur Hall. He had lost the protector to whom he had always turned for help and sympathy. It was a loss which he doubtless felt acutely at the time. In any case, within three years it was brought home to him in painful fashion. Although an apparent improvement in Hall's fortunes took place early in

¹ See *Star Chamber Proceedings*, Eliz. H., Bundle 24, No. 9.

1600, when his son Cecil made an excellent match,¹ his path still led downwards.

In 1601, when over sixty years of age, Arthur Hall was imprisoned for debt at the instance of one of his creditors, Henry Sherland. On May 25 of this year, he wrote to Sir Robert Cecil from the Fleet, complaining of the harsh treatment he had received from this creditor, and reminding Cecil that he (Hall) had served the Queen for nearly forty years. He informed Cecil that he had presented a petition to the Council and asked him to favour the same.² The Council appointed Commissioners to examine three actions for debt against Hall by Sergeant Hele, Hugh Myddleton, goldsmith, and Edward Sherland, executor to Henry Sherland, late of London, linen-draper.³ However, the Commissioners were unable to persuade Sherland to accept what they thought in conscience and equity to be fit, and so their efforts proved unavailing. Hall next petitioned the Queen that the Lord Keeper might be desired to bring the three causes to some good end, but he seems to have met with no success. This failure was attributed by Hall to the ill-will of the Lord Keeper who was the cause of his undoing. He maintains this charge in

¹ He did not marry the daughter of Sir Griffin Markham as stated by Cooper, *Athenæ Cantab.*, II, 39, and Sir S. Lee, *D.N.B.*, XXIV, 57. His first wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edward Griffin, Knight, of Gumley, co. Leicester, and Walkerley, co. Northampton, the marriage taking place on January 27, 1600 (see J. Nichols, *History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, II, Pt. 2, p. 592; also Larken's *MSS. Collections of Lincolnshire Pedigrees* at the College of Arms, II, 185 *et seq.*, and Maddison, *op. cit.*, Harl. Soc., LI, 440-42). His second wife was Alice, daughter of Sir Edmund Thorold, Knight, of Hough, co. Lincoln, and widow of John Thompson of Boothby Paynell and relict of — Gregg. By his first wife, Cecil Hall had one child, Griffin, by his second wife, two sons, Cyrus and Cecil, and two daughters, Mary and Lucy (see Maddison, *ut supra*, and the *Parish Registers* of Grantham and Coleby).

² *Cal. Salisbury MSS.*, Pt. II, p. 205.

³ Hall had long-standing relations with the deceased Henry Sherland. In his complaint about Anthony Thorold in 1582, Hall refers to Mr. Sherland of London as "a very frend of the said Arthur" (*MSS. Lansdowne*, Vol. 31, No. 22). He is also mentioned as supping on one occasion at the Pope's Head in Lombard Street, when Hall was present (*Letter sent by F. A.*). Again, in the course of the proceedings against Hall for the publication of the *Letter sent by F. A.*, Bynneman the printer stated that "he delivered one Book to Henry Shirland in Fridaystreet, Linnen-Draper, to be sent to Mr. Hall" (D'Ewes, *Journal*, p. 292). Edward Sherland's name comes up again in connection with Arthur Hall's in certain proceedings in Chancery (*Cal. of Proceedings in Chancery in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, III, 12, 47).

The suit of Hugh Myddleton, goldsmith, indicates that Hall had been driven to borrow money again.

a letter to Cecil on December 5, 1601, and declares that if a hearing be given him, he will prove his allegations or else be hanged at the court gates. He requests Cecil, for the acquaintance and knowledge, which has been between him and the Cecil family, that the cases may be brought to an end.¹ Hall was impatient to have a reply and next day again wrote to Cecil, begging for an answer. He beseeches the son of his old guardian not to doubt of the goodness of his cause, nor to think him so lewd or unadvised as to write or say to any, many degrees under him (Cecil), what is not true.² On January 6, 1602, he sends Cecil a copy of a petition he has addressed to her Majesty, which shows what affliction drives a man unto, who is undone in state and credit.³

Three days later, Hall informs Cecil that he has sent a copy of the petition to the Lord Keeper, whose favour and good opinion he greatly desires, provided that his poor credit be not stained to her Majesty. He hopes that either the Lord Keeper or the Council will do something for his relief. If not, he requests Cecil that he may be called before the Council to make his statements. However, he is unwilling to be he who should exasperate so great a magistrate as my Lord Keeper is.⁴ It is evident that Hall stood in great awe of the Lord Keeper on whom so much depended. But it is equally clear that he thought more might have been done for him. This we see from another letter addressed to Cecil on January 13. Hall here declares that, though in comparison with the Lord Keeper he is very *impar congressus Achilli*, yet he must not derogate so much from himself, that his small understanding cannot yield reasons but that the Lord Keeper might have done in his cause much less than he did in other causes since Hall's coming to the Fleet. He therefore requests Cecil to induce the Queen to hand the matter over to Lord Anderson alone, or with him one of the judges of the same bench. Apparently Hall was vaguely conscious that this continual bombardment of letters and supplications was not welcome, for he refers to reports that on January 4, at a meeting of the Privy Council, Cecil had told Hall's daughter that further petitions were undesirable, as the Queen would attend to the case.⁵

Nevertheless on January 14, the untiring Hall took up his

¹ *Cal. Salisbury MSS.*, Pt. II, p. 512.

² *Ibid.*, p. 513.

³ *Ibid.*, Pt. II, p. 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

pen once more. He was in a sullen mood, and curtly refers to Cecil's belief that he is one who is only too apt to take unkindness. Through Hall's servant, Cecil had sent word that if Hall would cause some one to appear before the Council, he would be willing to lend him support. Hall replies somewhat morosely, that as the Lord Keeper says he has done all in his power, and as the Lords of the Council say they can only help him by interceding with his creditor who is out of town, he thinks it useless to cause trouble.¹

Cecil was justifiably offended by Hall's attitude, and in plain terms he wrote to Hall the same day that his manner was not to fly men in difficulties, nor had he put him off through lack of desire to favour him, but because he saw no way of giving help. Moreover, he has so little time for necessary duties that he loves not *laterem lavare*. Again Hall's complaint against the Lord Keeper was not that he had dealt unjustly or rigorously, but that he might have done more in his behalf. "By my faith," concludes Cecil, "blame me not to be wary to entertain both a remediless cause and for a jealous patient, and so I end your loving friend".²

On January 17 Hall replies, though he is careful to avoid any sort of an answer to Cecil's straightforward criticism. He wonders why the Queen can be offended with him, and reminds Cecil how he ventured his life for him to "Lord Borowe". Finally, he asks that Cecil's poor friend past may have just construction, though now an abject in the world. Otherwise with grief he must say, "*Una salus victis, nullam sperare salutem*".³ In spite of Cecil's blunt words to Hall, he seems to have done what he could for the imprisoned debtor. On June 1, 1602, Hall writes to thank him for his great favours. Through his kindness Hall's servant has been set free, and the Lords of the Council have granted permission for proceedings to be taken against Mr. John Zouch, who owed Hall money.⁴

It is clear from this letter that Hall hoped to call in a certain amount of money due to him, so as to satisfy his own unrelenting creditor Sherland and thus bring about his release.

¹ Cal. Salisbury MSS., Pt. 12, p. 20.

² Ibid., pp. 21-2.

³ Ibid., p. 23.

⁴ Ibid., p. 180. Zouch is mentioned as owing money to Hall in letters to Lord Burghley of June 29, and November 29, 1597 (see Appendix, pp. 204, 205).

It would seem, however, that these expectations were not to be realised, and Hall was destined to languish even longer within the unsavoury limits of the Fleet. This we gather from the *Treatise of Transportable Commodities* which he addressed to the newly crowned King, James I, in 1603. After defending his past actions and apologising for his presumption, he asks that his treatise may be examined "wheruppon, more may be founde then I have bene able fully to set downe, by meanes of my imprysonment, not having oportunitie to searche so far as I woulde". At the end of the proposals for the improvement of English commerce, Hall describes the difficulties under which he has laboured. "Consider, gratiouse King, I am in prison, in the tyme of the plaging sicknes of the plague, a disease shunde of all men, persons in affliction not willinglye by manye, yea freands, visited. I can not procure suche books and recordes as wold fortifie what I have here written, and lesse have I ben able to goe and searche them out my selfe."

This year 1603 in which Hall wrote was marked by an especially violent outbreak of the plague. In July, when the epidemic was at its worst, people were dying at the rate of over 850 a week.¹ Under these circumstances, Hall's was

¹ It is symptomatic of the gravity of the epidemic that in this year two books were published dealing with this malady. The first, *A New Treatise of the Pestilence*, by S. H., 4to, London, 1603. The other, by no less an author than Thomas Lodge, entitled *A Treatise of the Plague*, 4to, London, 1603 (see the work mentioned below, notes, pp. 32-4). The horror and panic caused in London by the proportions which this outbreak attained are well described in a curious little work bearing the title, *The meeting of gallants at an ordinarie: or, the walkes in Powles*, London, 1604. It was reprinted by J. O. Halliwell for the Percy Society, Vol. V, London, 1841. It begins with a colloquy between "warre, famine, and the pestilence, blazing their seuerall euills". In reply to War, Pestilence says:—

"Who euer read that Vsurers dyed in Warre
Grasping a Sword, or in an yron yeare,
Languisht with famine? but by me surprizde
Euen in their Counting-houses, as they sate
Among their golden Hills: when I haue changed
Their Gold into dead tokens, with the touch
Of my pale-spotted, and infectious Rodde,
When with a suddaine start and gastly looke,
They haue left counting Coyne, to count their flesh,
And summe vp their last vsury on their Breasts,
All their whole wealth lockt in their bony Chests."

We are then introduced to Signior Shuttlecocke and Signior Ginglespur, who meet in St. Paul's. From them we learn that it is dangerous to stay in London inns for fear of infection. People are compelled to dress badly because of the dearth of

truly a sorry plight. In prison, old, friendless, and poor, without books to distract his thoughts from his surroundings, living in daily, almost hourly, expectation of death from the plague raging around him, he was a pitiable spectacle. Day by day he waited for those friends to cheer his solitude, who, perhaps unknown to him, had fled into the country at the approach of the dreaded pestilence. The continual clangour of the tolling bells broke in on his mind like the death-knell of all his brightest hopes. Yet with a stoic calm he set himself to finish his treatise to the King. Something of Hall's old uncompromising and unbending spirit still breathes from his words. Even in these conditions, he delights in criticising those in high places.

Hall's purpose in addressing this treatise to the King will readily be understood. He hoped that James, himself a man of learning and a patron of letters, might have his interest aroused in the fate of an unfortunate scholar. Nevertheless, for some time the appeal bore no fruit and Hall was obliged to make a fresh bid for liberty. On April 28, 1604, he addressed a letter to James I. From this we learn that in May of the preceding year he had sent a pamphlet to the King, showing the corruption and abuses which then prevailed in the election of members of Parliament. On January 11, 1604, a proclamation for calling a Parliament was issued, "wherby," as Hall says, evidently thinking of the effect his pamphlet has had, "shoulde also be wyped, and clensed awaye, the gawles, filth, corruption, and ruste, too much crepte in, for wante of regarde thereof amongst that assembly". Hall's purpose in writing to the King is to show that in spite of the proclamation a number of members have been unlawfully returned. He apologises for thus instructing the King, "when I doe confese I play Phormio his parte, who toke uppon him to reade *Artem Militarem* to

tailors. The tradesmen are almost ruined for want of customers; during the past summer, in the usually busy streets, "there was not so much Veluet stirring, as would haue bene a Couer to a little Booke in Octauo, or seame a Lieftenants Buffle doublet . . . there was neuer a Gilt Spur to be seene all the Strand ouer, neuer a Feather wagging in all Fleetstreete vnlesse some Country Forehorse came by, by meere chaunce with a Raine-beaten Feather in his Costrill; the streete looking for all the world like a Sunday morning at sixe of the Clocke, three houres before seruice, and the Bells ringing all about London, as if the Coronation day had bene halfe a yeare long" (p. 12).

Ben Jonson lost his son in this outbreak of the plague (*cf.* his *Conversations with William Drummond*, ed. Laing, p. 20).

Hanniball, who was in a manner the onelye soldyer of the worlde, and the other a simple pedante". Though Hall fears "the splene againste me of some greate personages aboute you, whiche I have done and do feele verye heavily," yet he declares that these courtiers are responsible for certain members being illegally elected. The new representatives support their patrons and thus the latter are shielded from complaint. If they are criticised, they will easily "finde freandes in corners to pleade and yeilde voices for them, especialye the companye swarming with mercinarye lawyers, many of whome can talke and lye well". Remove these men and purify Parliament or, if necessary, dissolve it. Such is Hall's advice, and then the King's loyal subjects will have "full libertie to complaine, be hearde, and righted of those who have wronged and oppressed, and freely againste the greateste subjecte to alledge their undutifull carriages against your Highnes and justice".

One cannot help admiring Hall's skill in interweaving with a criticism of the composition of Parliament in 1604 a complaint about his imprisonment. Who were the great personages about the King responsible for Hall's detention in the Fleet? With great probability, we may assume that he is referring to the Lord Keeper for one. But did he also blame Sir Robert Cecil? It is not possible to ascertain this definitely, for he had learnt in a painful school the consequences of indulging in open attacks on the great. He therefore refrains from mentioning names—"your Majestie knowes how perillous it is, to let the names oute to such heades". It is curious to note in any case, that the Parliament which Hall criticised was really prorogued on July 7, 1604, little more than two months after the writing of his letter. One may well doubt, however, whether the King in doing this had Hall's memorial in mind, other motives probably leading to this course of action. Nevertheless, this letter of Hall's has a certain historical interest.

For Hall's biography it is of the highest importance, as a marginal note informs us that at the time of writing he was still in prison. Moreover, it is almost the last piece of news concerning Arthur Hall in the flesh. Was he still in prison at the time of his death, or was his creditor induced to relent at the sight of the aged man who had now lain three long years in prison? One would fain hope that he was allowed to spend the last year

of his life in the quiet of his country home. This is just possible, though uncertain. On September 26, 1605, Thomas Screven wrote to the Earl of Rutland that Mr. Arthur Hall would answer him shortly, but after this there is silence.¹

The bare fact of Hall's death is mentioned by the inquisition on his property. This was held at Sleaford, co. Lincoln, on January 8, 1606, and the jury stated that Arthur Hall, late of Grantham, died on December 29, 1605.² He was buried at Grantham on January 7, 1606, at the age of sixty-six, presumably in the Chapel of St. Katharyn built by his great-grandfather.³

¹ *Cal. Rutland MSS.*, I, 395-96.

² *Chancery Inquisitions*, Series II, Vol. 291, No. 36.

³ *Grantham Parish Register*. No trace of any monument of the Hall family is now left in this chapel which is at present used as a vestry. Arthur Hall's daughter Anne in her will dated October 6, 1630, desires "to be buried in the Chapple adjoining Grantham Church" (Larken's *Collection of Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, II, 185 *et seq.*).

CHAPTER XIII.

HALL'S VIEWS ON ECONOMIC MATTERS.

By one of the ironies of fate, Arthur Hall first began to direct his attention to economic conditions when his own affairs were seriously embarrassed. Whilst the burden of old age and of his debts was weighing upon him heavily, Hall was preoccupied with the question of the debasement of the Irish coinage.

In a letter of November 8, 1600, he communicated with Sir Robert Cecil, and informed him that in the past summer he had made proposals on this subject to Sir Anthony Mildmay and asked him to make known these suggestions to Cecil.¹ On November 28 he again wrote to Cecil, explaining how urgently he needed relief in the matter of his debts, and at the same time enclosing his proposals as to the coinage.

After referring to the scarcity of gold and silver, he maintains that these can only be obtained from abroad either by violence or trade. The first means is costly and perilous, and to procure by trade these metals from Spain, which has the largest stock of them, is impossible owing to the war then going on. The needs of the Crown are great, and heavy taxation is causing discontent amongst the Queen's subjects. What, then, is the remedy? Hall proposes that the coinage shall be debased, and justifies this by the precedents of similar proceedings in the reigns of Edward III, Henry VIII, and Edward VI. Moreover, he considers that the Queen has a certain right to take this step, because she restored good silver at the beginning of her reign and since then has carried on wars of which there seems no end. Such a course is therefore quite permissible to one who has defended the country against mighty enemies and is now in danger of losing part of her dominions—Ireland.

As Hall warms to his work, his imagination depicts in glowing colours the benefits which will accrue from this debasement

¹ *Cal. Salisbury MSS.*, Pt. 10, p. 379.

of the coinage. Money will be more plentiful, trade will be stimulated, and taxes will be less oppressive. The nobility and gentry of England, who are mostly poor and rarely lay up any great sums, will be better able to lend aid to the Queen, because their tenants will be in a position to pay their rents. In any case, the gentry will obtain more money when compelled to sell their lands, whereas at present they must sell at low prices and are reduced to beggary. Covetous persons and usurers, says Hall with a touch of personal vindictiveness against this class, whom he styles the caterpillars of the commonwealth, will hoard less and lend to the State more readily. Later on, when gold and silver have become plentiful again, the base money may be called in and the old standard restored.

He then attempts to meet arguments as to the evil consequences of such debasing of the coinage. It will not cause a rise in the prices of victuals, for in the reign of Henry VIII, food was as cheap as ever before, and in the reign of Edward VI, prices were even lower, whereas in the time of Elizabeth, food has been dearer. Nor will it send up the price of wages of servants and labourers, for these have been one-third or half as high again as in the days of base money. It will not lead to the hoarding of gold and silver, for in the days of base money these were more plentiful than in the time of Elizabeth's reliable coinage.

It is obvious from the above statement that Hall was ignorant of what are now considered to be the elementary principles of economics. He vaguely felt that if only peace were restored between England and Spain, the exchange of commodities might remedy the evil, but his prophecies as to the beneficial effects of debasing the coinage are hopelessly far from the truth. Indeed, practice showed how wrong they were. Whether or not it was the immediate result of Hall's advice we do not know, but the fact remains that in the spring of 1601, the Irish coinage was debased. The decree which proclaimed it was issued on May 10, and came into force on July 10. Elizabeth herself was at first opposed to the scheme, which, she rightly argued, would be injurious to her fame and displeasing to her soldiers.

However, the love which the army bore her was such that the change was made without trouble. Still, the consequences were serious. The merchants fought shy of the new coins and the purchasing power of money was diminished. So not only

the rebels but also Elizabeth's most faithful servants suffered great losses. The Lord-Deputy himself, on November 7 of this year, wrote to Sir Robert Cecil that his private estate was no longer able to bear the expense at which he was forced to live, owing to the debased coin. The only people who profited by it were the Elizabeth paymasters and particularly the Lord Treasurer, Buckhurst. The latter was responsible for the whole, as he had wrung Elizabeth's consent from her, much against her will.¹

This disastrous state of affairs was not set right until the accession of James I. The latter was entirely averse to such debasing of the coinage, and on October 11, 1603, he issued a proclamation, which noted the extreme dearth of all things in Ireland and the many inconveniences caused by the alteration in the standard of money. This was followed by a second, on November 11, 1604, in which James declared that he thought it an injustice and abuse of the royal power to tamper with the coins of the realm. Thereupon he restored the money of pure silver.² Even before these proclamations, Hall had come to see the folly of debasing the coinage, and in the preface to his treatise on transportable commodities, addressed to James I from the Fleet in 1603, he admits that "if wante to furnishe the present warrs had not verrye extraordinarylye forced" the project, it "wold have seemed highly inconvenient".

The above treatise on transportable commodities contains matter of greater interest to the student of economic history. Although incidentally it touches on a variety of problems, it is in the main an attack on the system of trading companies, and advocates conditions for commerce which bear some resemblance to those of modern times.

Hall criticises the system of granting special privileges to corporations of merchants who limit their membership and the quantity of goods exported, with the result that fewer ships are employed, so that the Navy, "the strengthe of the lande," and the sailors are greatly reduced. He further accuses the merchants of conspiring to defraud the customs, of charging exorbitant prices for goods imported from abroad, and places the responsibility for the shortage of gold and silver on their shoulders.

¹ Rogers Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain*, etc., I, 354-57.

² *Ibid.*, 361-62.

In attacking the restrictive methods of the companies, Hall puts his finger on one of the weakest spots in the system of trading then prevailing. They began by strictly limiting the number of their members and then confined the active membership to a few more favoured individuals. Nor were these privileged few entirely free, the amount of trade done by them being subject to restrictions. The use of the "stint" seems to a modern trader singularly iniquitous. An apprentice in the last year of his time might export 100 cloths, a freeman in each of his first three years, 400 cloths, in his fourth, 450, in his fifth, 500, and so on. The maximum of 1000 was reached in the freeman's fifteenth year, but then he became stagnant.

The Elizabethan merchant believed that supply and demand were strictly limited, so that if too many people were allowed to sell cloth, the price would fall, and if too many Englishmen could buy goods abroad, this competition would raise prices. Whether Arthur Hall realised the full purport of modern ideas on supply and demand may perhaps be doubted. But it is certain that he advocated the abolition of the privileges of all merchant companies, the removal of restrictions on commerce, and the setting up of free trade for all citizens, on condition of paying the usual customs. In this respect he anticipated by one year the famous report by the Committees of the House of Commons on the Free Trade Bills of 1604. In fact, many of the arguments used here bear a striking similarity to those brought forward by Hall in his treatise.

At the close of the latter, Hall draws a wonderful picture of the prosperity which will ensue if his proposals are adopted. He begins by describing how the various parts of the realms ruled by James I will be bound together in friendship by unrestricted freedom of trade, an argument which he doubtless thought would appeal to the new King. The Navy will be increased, and the "moste able men to abide labor and the sea" in the King's dominions will be set to work. Gold and silver, the sinews of war, will flow in freely, so that he may levy soldiers when necessity requires. The English trader will be well paid for his goods and wealth will be generally distributed. The clothier will have orders for cloth, so that he will not be able to make it fast enough. "The decayed Townes upon the sea and in all places in the whole kingdoms shal be redified, peopled

and become rich. All the waste, desolate parts of Irelande habited, the ruynated citties and habitations built, those that are standing, increased, subjects multiplyed, and therbye God and the prince served."

Hall's vision of the revival of these towns, which had fallen on evil times and been shorn of their former glory, was destined to remain a dream. It was impossible to put the clock back, and the decay of the old corporate towns was largely due to new economic conditions. The legislation of Somerset in 1547 had not been to the benefit of the old craft guilds, and the towns whose life centred in these institutions suffered in consequence. The heavy financial burden laid on them by wars with France and by the exactions of Henry VII, combined with the competition of new industrial centres to bring about the gradual ruin of many old towns. Their decay had been proceeding throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and in Hall's day the process was painfully manifest. The economic splendour of places like Worcester, Evesham, Droitwich, Kidderminster, and Bromsgrove had departed never to return in like measure.¹

But even if Hall's conceptions on this score were somewhat fanciful, his zeal for the clothing trade carried on in the old corporate towns and in the newer centres is made clear by his treatise. He perceived that wool, the chief article of export in the days of Edward III, was now of minor importance. Cloth, dyed or undyed, had taken its place. The question of the clothing trade had previously given rise to much discussion, for its condition was by no means satisfactory. Amongst the causes of this state of affairs was undoubtedly the attitude taken up by the Merchant Adventurers. Hall refers to the pressure they brought to bear on the clothiers, and in fact their point of view was a serious handicap to this rising trade. The merchants deliberately sought to check the expansion of this branch of industry, and when accused of paying too low prices, they claimed that the number of clothiers was excessive. Their conception of trade was still mediæval, and aimed only at securing a regular profit on all their limited transactions. Moreover, legislation reflecting the outlook of the Merchant Adventurers was an additional check on the clothing trade.

¹ W. Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, pp. 517, 520, 523-4.

In 1586 a serious situation had arisen. The depression in this industry was acute, and from then, until the time of the Armada, it continually preoccupied the Privy Council. Discontent was rife, particularly in Somerset, and finally, Burghley recommended the removal of all restrictions. In order to encourage buyers and stimulate the trade, the exportation of cloth was to be thrown open to all merchants, both English and foreign. Burghley's scheme met with opposition from the monopolists, who saw their privileged position destroyed at one blow. Sixteen years later we find Hall supporting the plan put forward by his old guardian. If freedom were granted to all merchants to develop trade without artificial hindrances, the clothing industry would, in Hall's opinion, attain a degree of prosperity hitherto unknown.

The consideration of the clothing trade had led Hall to another conclusion—that the customs were being defrauded by the English merchants who had the privilege of exporting cloth. To justify his statement, he brings forward figures showing what considerable sums the King used to obtain from the custom levied on wool, which was then the chief article of export. Hall admits that in his day not nearly so much raw wool is exported as formerly. But owing to the decay of tillage and the turning of ploughed fields into sheep farms, he believes that more wool is grown in England in the time of James I than in the reign of Edward III. Much of this is exported in the form of cloth, but if the custom were properly levied, his Majesty ought to obtain larger sums than accrued to Edward III. Instead of which, as Hall thinks he can prove, the revenue from this source is much smaller than it ought to be. He seems to attribute this to the practice of allowing every tenth cloth to pass through free, and also to the "secrete shuffling" of the merchant monopolists. A further cause he maintains to be the failure to adapt the old rates charged to the changed value of money. Hall argues, that as the purchasing power of money is only about one-third of what it was in the time of Edward III, the custom levied should be trebled, and he seeks to show that the cloth exporters would be well able to bear the higher charge, as their profits are altogether disproportionate.

It is by no means certain that Hall perceived the relation between the general rise of prices throughout Europe and the

larger supply of the precious metals, which had been made possible by the discovery of America. But he was concerned with the problem of securing for his own country a due share of this abundance of gold and silver. He refers to the discoveries of the Portuguese in Africa and the East Indies and to the voyage of Columbus. Then he asks, "sith there is more abundance and store of gold and silver in these dayes . . . what is the cause . . . that this kingdom shold not unmeasurablye so much more abound as the occasions of the so mightie plentie of those two metales do yield?" Like most of his contemporaries, Hall does not seem to have understood the cause of the occasional drain of the precious metals from England to the Continent. In the time of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary, it was doubtless facilitated by the debased currency. With two sets of coins, one good and the other debased, it was only natural that the more valuable should disappear from circulation. Yet even in Elizabeth's time, when the currency had been restored to its normal condition, the drain was felt at intervals. This was due to the bimetallic system then prevailing, though the true relation between the gold and silver currencies was rarely appreciated. In fact, towards the close of her reign a blunder was made, which shows how completely the matter was misapprehended. In 1600 a proclamation was issued with reference to the transportation of gold and silver from the realm, and later a change was made in the issue rate of the coinage. Yet in spite of the fact that the production of silver had by far surpassed that of gold, so that all other European trading countries were adapting their currency to this depreciation of silver, the ratio of gold to silver was lowered—with disastrous results.¹

Writing in 1603, Hall appears to attribute the drain of the precious metals almost entirely to the restrictions in trade involved in monopolies, and to the interruptions in the commercial relations between England and Spain. The scarcity of gold and silver resulting from these interruptions would have been even more felt, he says, "had not muche bene supplied, some by honorable purchase, and not a little by plaine theft and piracie, which never thelesse hath cost many a valliant mans lyfe, dearer then golde to moste hye and honorable mynded kinges".²

¹ W. A. Shaw, *The History of Currency*, pp. 48, 114-31.

² No doubt a reference amongst other things to the seizure in 1568 of the Spanish bullion fleet, which had taken refuge in Plymouth harbour.

Hall's remedy in this case also was to open the channels of trade to all merchants, both English and foreign. To this extent he is a mercantilist. "The kingdoms of Englande and Irelande," he says, "yeild nether gold nor silver in any quantitie ; then it is to be drawne by means from the princes, who are maisters of the mynes, where those mettals are had ; to procure the whiche, there is no waye but by sale and vente of the commodities of your majesties kingdoms, which commodities, gold and silver excepte, are as abundante, as pretiouse, and of forreine nations as much requested, as any whatsoever." As a further measure against the drain of gold and silver, Hall proposes that all foreign merchants should be bound by law to bring in bullion in exchange for goods purchased, as they had been formerly compelled to do. But this would appear to have been a minor consideration to Hall, as compared with the system of the open door in trade.

Our author once more turns to the past in connection with another proposal he makes for the encouragement of trade, namely, that the staple should be set up in England. At the beginning of a section of his treatise, Hall sets forth that whilst the place of the staple has often changed, yet, "it hath bene in Englande, and therfore a fitt place for it". During the reign of Edward VI a definite proposal had been made for the establishment of a mart at Southampton, which was intended to outdo Antwerp, and if it was a success, a similar mart was to be erected at Hull.¹ In 1572 John Johnson and others put forward plans for a mart town at Ipswich, but they were rigorously opposed by the Merchant Adventurers, who showed the advantages of adhering to the old mart towns abroad and the danger that would result from abandoning them.²

In the Middle Ages there had doubtless been considerable advantages in having the staple in England, but this fashion of controlling commerce had become unsuitable in the reign of James I, for companies of traders were pushing their business wherever it paid them. In other words, there was a tendency towards the elasticity of modern conditions. Whether Hall meant his suggestion seriously we do not know, but his passing reference does not seem to indicate that he considered it of vital

¹ W. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 495-96.

² *State Papers Domestic, Eliz.*, Vol. 88, Nos. 22, 23, 38-49.

importance. On the other hand, the encouragement of English shipping was a matter which Hall had very much at heart. He devotes a section to previous legislation passed with this purpose. What he desired was that all goods leaving or entering England should be carried in English vessels, or else that the merchant should be penalised by having to pay higher customs on goods carried in foreign ships.

Hall's treatise on transportable commodities has, however, a personal as well as an economic interest. It reveals to us his ardent patriotism, of which his zeal for trade is merely an expression. This is again reflected in his enthusiasm for the Navy and the qualities of the English mariner, nor did he fail to appreciate the importance of the part assigned to them. His dislike of monopolies is not based on envious cupidity, but has its root in an instinctive reaction against the injustice of all such privileges. Hall revelled in visions of the wealth to be won by trade with "the innumerable, newe found people, used to goe naked," but he rejoiced chiefly because here was prosperity in which all his countrymen, untrammelled by the trade restrictions hitherto favouring a privileged minority, could have their legitimate share. Hall has something of the spacious outlook of the age he lived in.

CHAPTER XIV.

ARTHUR HALL'S MINOR WORKS.

LIKE many others at the Court of Queen Elizabeth, Arthur Hall attempted to give expression to his feelings in poetry, though without great success either in youth or later life. His earliest verses, preserved amongst the State Papers,¹ bear the date January 1, 1559, and from the contents we gather that they were intended as a New Year's present. There can be little doubt as to who the recipient was. Practically all the letters written by Arthur Hall which we possess are addressed to Sir William Cecil. Moreover, this particular letter containing the verses is endorsed in Cecil's hand "Arth. Hall". The circumstances of Hall at the time would lead us to fix upon Cecil as the person to whom our author would most naturally write on such an occasion. At the beginning of 1559, he was between nineteen and twenty years of age and therefore still Cecil's ward. Further, we learn from the verses that the writer sends them because he lacks money to buy presents, and he signs himself "your most obedient pupill and servaunt". It is true that the word "pupill" could at that time mean a scholar, but the signification, "an orphan who is a minor and hence a ward," was much more common.² Finally, the combination of "pupill" with "servaunt" makes it practically certain that the verses were addressed, not to some pedagogue, but to Hall's guardian, Sir William Cecil.

The literary merit of these verses is not very high. It is, however, worth noting that they are written in long lines of fourteen syllables, the same metre as Hall afterwards used for his translation of Homer. The too plentiful use of monosyllables, a defect of which he did not get rid even in his later work, produces a monotonous sledge-hammerlike rhythm, singularly displeasing to the ear. The classical allusion, which occurs in the

¹ See Appendix, pp. 177-78.

² *New English Dictionary*, VII, Pt. 2, p. 1607.
(123)

course of his poem, is evidently a reminiscence of Hall's youthful studies. He asks his guardian to look on these verses as

" The Macedon gift, which to a kinge was sente,
Yet this much lesse, for he the frute had of a forreyn tre,
Youe but your owne, which youe did grafte, shall here receave of me."

This allusion was evidently one which the author considered especially appropriate, for more than nine years later, in a letter to Cecil from Venice, he again makes use of it. For Cecil's letters he yields most humble thanks, "being the apple I have to present Alexander with".¹ Indeed, the interest of these lines is personal rather than æsthetic, for they bear a striking testimony to the admiration and reverence that Hall felt for the great statesman, his guardian and benefactor.

A much more lengthy and complete revelation of Hall's character is afforded by his next literary production. This was the book he wrote to justify his dealings with Mallory, its full title being: "A letter sent by F. A. / touchyng the proceedings / in a priuate quarell and vnkindnesse, / *betweene Arthur Hall, and Mel-/chisedech Mallerie Gentlemen*, to his / very friende L. B. being in Italie. / VVith an admonition to² the Father of / F. A. to him being a Burgesse of / the Parliament for his bet-/ter behauiour therein /". It was printed by Henry Bynneman,³ who also printed Hall's Homer.

As the book bears no date and was not officially registered, it is impossible to say exactly when it appeared. The letter itself is dated from London, May 19, 1576, but it is not sure that it was printed immediately. In all probability it was left in manuscript until the end of 1579 or the beginning of 1580.⁴ In the report of the Committees (February 6, 1581), which had been appointed to investigate the matter, we find that "Henry Bynnyman said that when the Book was Printed, he delivered one Book to Henry Shoreland in Fridaystreet, Linnen-Draper, to be sent to Mr. Hall, and that afterwards, about a year past, he delivered to Mr. Hall six of the said Books, and at Michaelmas

¹ See Appendix, p. 180.

² Misprint in the original for "by".

³ See *Henry Bynneman, Printer*, 1566-83, by H. R. Plomer in *The Library*, July, 1908, pp. 225-44. See also *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland, and Ireland, 1557-1640*, ed. R. B. McKerrow, pp. 59-60.

⁴ Corser, *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, pp. 105-8, deals with Hall, and dates the *Letter sent by F. A.*, 1597-80, which is obviously a misprint for 1579-80.

term last, six other of the said Books, and one more to Mr. Halls man shortly after". From this statement of the printer, we perceive that all these copies, with the exception of the very first, were published in 1580. The earliest copies were probably printed in 1579, for in the course of Hall's quarrel with the Bishop of Lincoln, reference is made to the dealings of the latter with regard to an order of the Privy Council "aboute the boke". It seems then that the Council was preoccupied with this publication of Hall's in the summer or autumn of 1579,¹ though a later parliamentary historian does not mention that the offender was actually summoned before the Privy Council until 1580.²

The number of copies issued was in any case not large. The inquiries of the House of Commons showed that altogether only from eighty to a hundred copies were printed, and as most of these were suppressed, the *Letter sent by F. A.* is now an extremely rare and valuable book.³

Of the fourteen copies delivered to Arthur Hall by the printer, these being probably the only ones which the wrath of the House of Commons spared, two have come down to us by a fortunate chance. One of them is in the Grenville collection at the British Museum (G. 5524). The title-page, which has no signature, is followed by a dedication of one leaf to "the right worshipful Sir Henrie Kneuet, Knight". The latter was a prominent member of Parliament, who had served on the committee appointed to discuss the merits of the quarrel between Mallory and Hall, and was considered by his fellow-member to be well inclined towards him. Knyvett, however, declared that Hall's book was dedicated to him without his permission being asked.

The dedication bears the signature aii, then comes the *Letter* itself, beginning on aiii and running to giiij verso in fours. Next follows the *Admonition*, commencing with A, going to H in fours, and ending on Iii recto. The latter is not marked, nor are the fours throughout the whole book. Thus the *Letter* has 56 pages (28 folios) and the *Admonition* 67 pages (34 folios). It is also worth noting that there is no attempt at indicating the pagina-

¹ *Acts of the Privy Council*, XI, 306 (entry for November 11, 1579).

² D'Ewes, *Journal*, pp. 295-96 (cf. pp. 68, 97).

³ *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 291-98, gives an account of the proceedings against Hall and the printer Bynneman (cf. also pp. 188-89).

tion except the signatures.¹ A second copy of the *Letter sent by F. A.* came up for sale at Messrs. Sotheby's on March 21, 1864. The *Letter* (Lot No. 87) was stated to be "one of the rarest volumes in the whole class of English history, no copy having before occurred for public sale". It was purchased by Mr. Thorpe for £26.² Quite apart from its rarity and its intimate connection with the life of Arthur Hall, this fine old black letter quarto is of value, as illustrating the life led by young men of family and fashion during the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

A reprint of this interesting book, limited to 250 copies, was issued in 1815 for Robert Triphook. It was published along with a number of rare old tracts, the whole series bearing the title "Miscellanea Antiqua Anglicana; or a select collection of curious tracts, illustrative of the history, literature, manners, and biography, of the English nation". Only eight numbers were issued, Hall's letter being No. 2 in the collection. The first seven numbers are often found in a volume with the above title and a list of contents, the whole being styled Vol. I, though no second volume ever appeared.³ The fact that the whole volume bears the date 1816, whilst the reprint of Hall's letter is dated 1815, sometimes gives rise to confusion. This reprint has the following title-page: "An / Account of a Quarrel / between / Arthur Hall, Esq. / and / Melchisedech Mallerie, Gent. / with the / proceedings in the suits which arose therefrom : / and a letter on the origin and antiquity of Parliament, / with advice to a member for his conduct therein. / The whole written by Arthur Hall, Esq. / member for Grantham in several Parliaments of Q. Elizabeth, / and translator of ten books of Homer's Iliad / into English verse. /" This is followed by an advertisement, giving an account of Hall, after which the passages referring to him in D'Ewes's *Journal* are quoted. Following this introduction of XVI pages comes the *Letter* itself, occupying with the *Admonition* 110 pages. Although the reprint is not absolutely accurate in all respects, it is valuable on account of its scarcity, the limited number of copies printed soon being exhausted.⁴

¹ An account of this copy and the circumstances of its publication, though not without some minor inaccuracies, is given in *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, I, Pt. 1, London, 1842, p. 296.

² See Sotheby's Auction Catalogue, March 21, 1864, pp. 12-13.

³ See W. T. Lowndes, *Bibliographer's Manual*, III, Pt. 2, p. 1574.

⁴ The above details are taken from *Miscellanea Antiqua Anglicana*, Vol. I, London, 1816, 4to.

In 1586 Hall's quarrel with Lady Sussex again induced him to rush into print. However, nothing is known of his "Hungaryous hystory," which must at all times have been very scarce, for all but about five copies were burnt, those in circulation being suppressed.¹ The date of the book's composition cannot be ascertained with absolute exactitude. At any rate, it could not have been written before 1583, for the Earl of Sussex died only in this year, and it was Hall's proposal of marriage to the widow of the deceased nobleman which finally led to the publication of the libel. Whenever it was written, we may infer from what Hall tells Burghley in his letter of June 1, 1588, that the book was not actually printed until 1586. In one respect the disappearance² of the book is probably no great loss to posterity, for beyond a little spicy court scandal throwing light on the by no means impeccable courtiers of the Virgin Queen, it would seem unlikely that there was much else in it. On the other hand, it might have added some fresh details to an interesting episode in Hall's career. The title again, "a Hungaryous hystory," the scene of which was laid "many yeares past," and in which Burghley figured under the name of "Galfryde," seems to indicate some type of fictitious story. But where we have no guide except a mere title, speculation as to its exact form is futile.³

Like many of his contemporaries, Hall shows considerable versatility in the subjects he writes upon. The translator of Homer was not above composing treatises on commercial or economic matters. His suggestions for the debasement of the coinage in 1600, and his proposals to James I for the improvement of trade, illustrate this side of his work.⁴ The date of this latter disquisition is determined by internal evidence to be 1603, as we have shown elsewhere.⁵ It is contained in a beautifully

¹ See p. 82, and Appendix, p. 196.

² As the book was a libel it was probably anonymous, and is therefore not contained in the *Transcripts of the Registers of the Stationers' Company* by Ed. Arber. It is not mentioned either in the *Dictionary of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain* by S. Halkett and J. Laing.

³ See Hall's letter to Burghley on the subject, Appendix, pp. 196-97; also the account of the quarrel in Ch. IX.

⁴ The coinage proposals are contained in a letter to Sir Robert Cecil on November 28, 1600. See *Cal. Salisbury MSS.*, Pt. 10, pp. 394-98. For an account of these proposals see Ch. XIII.

⁵ See Appendix, p. 209, note 4.

written manuscript (*MSS. Royal*, 18 A. 74) at the British Museum. This has hitherto not been printed.¹ In the case of both these treatises, the reader will be attracted by their relation to the unfortunate Hall's life rather than by their literary qualities. Apart from their autobiographic interest, the student of literature would willingly hand them over to the scrutiny of the observer of economic developments. The disquisition addressed to James I will, however, appeal to the student of commercial history, for in it he will trace a profound belief in unfettered trade as a means of bringing general prosperity and content to the State.

Incidentally we get more than a glimpse of the stubborn, justice- and equality-loving character of Hall. But for the full revelation of the man we must turn to his correspondence. A considerable number of his letters, extending from 1559 to 1603, have been preserved in various collections. As many of them are complaints to, or requests for aid from Lord Burghley, they perhaps tend to make him seem more querulous than he really was. Yet with this qualification, we may take these letters as a very complete expression of Hall's character. And whilst Hall the poet may be of decidedly inferior calibre, Hall the man is a specimen of sixteenth century human nature which is well worth study. Hall's letters are entirely natural, and their freshness is their principal merit. As a prose-writer, Hall does not rank with the highest, his style being long-winded and frequently obscure. In this latter respect both the *Letter sent by F. A.* and Hall's private correspondence are superior to his treatise on transportable commodities. Moreover, even if the latter surpass these other literary products in purely scientific interest, as admirable expressions of human nature, the accounts of Hall's grievances against Mallory, Lady Sussex, and the rest must always bear the palm.²

¹ The number of the MS. is as above and not *MSS. Royal*, 18 A. 75 as stated by Cooper, *Athenæ Cantab.*, II, 399, and Sir S. Lee in *D.N.B.*, XXIV, 58 (see Appendix, pp. 209-23).

² Letters from Arthur Hall are to be found as follows:—

(1) to *James I* in *State Papers, Domestic, James I*, Vol. 7, No. 82. (2) to *Sir William Cecil* (a) in *State Papers, Domestic, Eliz.*, Vol. 2, No. 1; Vol. 217, No. 52; Vol. 238, Nos. 48, 55. (b) in *State Papers, Foreign, Eliz.*, Vol. 101, fol. 16-18. (c) in *MSS. Salisbury*, see Calendar of same, Pt. 1, p. 146, item 552, and p. 489, items 1534, 1535; Pt. 2, p. 324, item 847. (d) *MSS. Lansdowne*, Vol. 7,

No. 76; Vol. 27, No. 79; Vol. 31, No. 45; Vol. 36, No. 74; Vol. 43, No. 22; Vol. 51, No. 11; Vol. 58, Nos. 26, 29, 30, 35, 38, 41; Vol. 59, No. 12; Vol. 68, No. 102; Vol. 85, Nos. 16, 17, 39; Vol. 86, No. 37. (3) to *Sir Robert Cecil* in *MSS. Salisbury*, see Cal. of same, Pt. 10, pp. 379, 394; Pt. 11, pp. 205, 512, 513; Pt. 12, pp. 6, 11, 15-16, 20, 23, 180. (4) to *House of Commons*, contained in the *Letter sent by F. A.* (5) to the *Earl of Rutland* in *MSS. Rutland*, see Cal. of same, Vol. 1, p. 144. (6) to the *Countess of Rutland* in *MSS. Rutland*, see Cal. of same, Vol. 1, p. 306. (7) to *Thomas Parker*, brother of Archbishop Parker (?) in *MSS. Salisbury*, see Cal. of same, Pt. 13, pp. 71-72.

Correspondence with or concerning Arthur Hall is to be found as follows:—

A. *State Papers Domestic, Edward VI*, Vol. 15, Nos. 21, 30; Vol. 18, No. 22; *Mary*, Vol. 9, No. 20; *Eliz.*, Vol. 36, No. 40; Vol. 133, No. 48; Vol. 147, No. 52; Vol. 282, No. 72.

B. *State Papers, Foreign, Edward VI*, Vol. 15 (Calais Papers), Nos. 179-81, 183-85; *Eliz.*, Vol. 101, fol. 89.

C. *MSS. Lansdowne*, Vol. 31, Nos. 20-22; Vol. 51, No. 19.

D. *MSS. Rutland*, see Cal. of same, Vol. 1, pp. 143-45, 170, 395-96.

E. *MSS. Salisbury*, see Cal. of same, Pt. 1, p. 141, item 527; p. 142, item 529; Pt. 2, p. 136, items 392, 393; pp. 205-6, item 603; Pt. 7, p. 387; Pt. 12, pp. 21-22; Pt. 13, pp. 37, 211.

CHAPTER XV.

HALL'S TRANSLATION OF HOMER.

THE humanistic movement of the Renaissance in all its fullness had but a short lease of life in England, whether owing to the theological disputes which began with the Reformation and drove almost all other interests into the background, or to other causes. As compared with the earlier humanists More, Colet, and Linacre, the generation of Cheke, Smith, and Ascham, seems one of mere pedagogues. In its first stages the English humanistic movement gave promise of a splendour which was never fulfilled. The knowledge of Greek and the acquaintance with Hellenic literature was comparatively rare, and the chief result of humanism was to stimulate the study of Latin. Aristophanes and Æschylus were entirely neglected, and even Sophocles and Euripides received little attention. The influence of Homer himself was small, and only Plutarch with his *Lives* became an important factor for the Elizabethan stage.¹

It was not until 1581 that Homer found a translator in England, and even then, as in the case of North's Plutarch, a French intermediary had to be relied on. Nor are these isolated phenomena in Elizabethan literature. Political relations had brought England into intimate contact with France, and a corresponding reaction of French manners, dress, and customs was felt on the English side of the Channel. But England owed an even greater debt to France for the rôle she played as an interpreter. The obligation was especially heavy in the sphere of literature, for the Elizabethans drew liberally on the French translations of Greek and Latin authors. Both in France and England the craft of the translator was held in high esteem, translations even being considered as a separate type of literature. And as a glance at the list of English translators will show, many prominent men lent their hand to this work of spreading the knowledge

¹ Cf. H. Schück, *Shakspeare och hans tid*, I, 45-52.

of antique literature. In France, says Sir Sidney Lee, "not the most erudite professors of Greek or Latin disdained this work, with the result that well-nigh every great Latin or Greek author was, before the sixteenth century was very old, at the disposal of the French people in accurate and idiomatic French."¹

It is therefore quite in keeping with the general tendency of Hall's age to find him, the courtier of Queen Elizabeth, connected with France as he was by early associations, turning to the French version of Hugues Salel in order to make Homer known to English readers. Moreover, the Cecil household had already encouraged other translators.² One of these, Arthur Golding, dedicated three translations to his patron.³ Another translator who enjoyed Cecil's patronage was Thomas Drant, a graduate of Cecil's old college, St. John's. His chief work, a rendering into English of two books of Horace's *Satires*, was dedicated by him in 1566 to "The right honorable my Lady Bacon and my lady Cicell, sisters, fauorers of learnyng and vertue". Drant also began a translation of Homer's *Iliad*, apparently based on the original, but this was never published.⁴

Whether the fact that Drant failed to print his work had any influence in deciding Hall to finish his translation cannot be proved. In the preface of his Homer, the author mentions the other great translators of the time, but does not allude to Drant. He traces the beginning of his enterprise back to the days when he was still a ward in Cecil's house. The fact that Hall's own copy of Salel, with the future translator's autograph and the date 1556, is still preserved at the British Museum, enables us to fix the earliest date when such a project could have entered his mind.⁵ About 1562 or 1563 he was encouraged to continue his translation by Roger, or as Hall calls him "Richard," Ascham and Jasper Heywood. In 1578 or 1579 he resumed the work which had been cast aside and neglected. Before its completion, however, the author was imprisoned in the Tower, and it was in

¹ See Sir S. Lee, *The French Renaissance in England*, p. 18.

² An account of Cecil as a patron of letters is given by D. Nichol Smith in *Shakespeare's England*, II, 191-92.

³ These are (a) *The Historie of Leonard Aretine*, 1563, (b) *Cæsar's Commentaries*, 1565, (c) *Sermons of M. John Caluine vpon the Epistle of Sainte Paule to the Galatians*, 1574.

⁴ See O. L. Jiriczek, *Der Elisabethanische Horaz*.

⁵ For an account of Hall's copy of Salel, see p. 138.

the same year, some eight months after his release, that the book was published.

It would seem as if, in the misfortune which dogged his steps after 1576, Hall had turned for consolation to his Homer. In the dedication to his old playmate, Sir Thomas Cecil, he says: "About two or three yeres past (good Knight) ransacking diuers olde and aside cast Papers of small moment, I found some fragments of Homers Iliades translated out of Frenche verse into Englishe metre at such time as I groped thereat, being a Scholer with you in my L. your fathers house: which when I had considered & founde of as small reckening as the rest they were stored vp with, which was in truth none at all, I was about to bequeath them to the fire. But being either better or worse aduised, . . . I tooke them againe in hand, & not onely, as my leasure & capacitie did serue me, somewhat corrected my first Translation, which God knows needes euen now much mending, and therefore in likelihood verie roughly hewed at the first, but also proceeded to finishe vp tenne whole Bookes. The which hauing performed this yeere, I haue till nowe rested in diuers myndes touching the Publication of them."

He finally decided to have his work printed, when he recollected the encouragement he had received from Ascham¹ and Heywood. "I remembred that about 18 or 19 yeeres past, walking with M. Richard Askame, a verie good Grecian, and a familiar acquaintance of Homer, & reciting vpon occasion of talke betweene vs, certaine verses Englished by me of the said Author, he animated me much, with great entreatie to goe forwarde with my begun enterprise. The like did also about that time the erst named M. Jasper Heywood."

A stimulus of some kind was indeed necessary, for Hall had great misgivings as to his own merits. Nor were these merely conventional expressions of diffidence. He was conscious of his

¹ Ascham, on the death of his parents, was brought up in the house of Sir Anthony Wingfield, who proved a generous benefactor to the future great scholar. Ascham felt correspondingly indebted to his patron, who was a cousin of Arthur Hall's father. It is also worthy of note that the sister of Lord Burghley, Elizabeth Cecil, married Robert Wingfield, a half-cousin of Arthur Hall's father. In this way Arthur Hall was distantly connected with the Cecil family and at the same time with the Wingfields to whom Ascham had every reason to be grateful (*cf.* C. Blore, *History and Antiquities of Rutland*, and Lord Powerscourt, *Muniments of the Family of Wingfield*, pedigree on p. 3).

weakness and inability to translate into verse, "in my opinion, the hardest matter belongs to the penne". In addition, as he himself says, "I founde alwayes my selfe in such disquiet of minde, by meanes of some practise of my contraries (I must say vnderseeded by me) such vexation in Lawe, and carefull turmoyle to preserue somewhat to my poore house, in a manner ouerthrowne by my vngouerned youth, that I was fully perswaded I could not goe thorowe well with my desire, being so harried otherwayes, for your selfe best knowes that to a Poet there is no greater poison, than vexation of sprite". No doubt the fear that these numerous adversaries would be only too glad to attack his work acted as a further deterrent.

Another factor also made him loth to rush into print, namely, the excellent renderings of others. He was reluctant to risk comparison with "the trauaile of M. Barnabe Googe¹ in Palingenius, the learned and painefull translation of part of Seneca by M. Jasper Heywood,² the excellent and laudable labour of M. Arthur Golding,³ making Ouid speake English in no worse Termes, than the Authors owne gifts gaue him grace to write in Latine, the worthy workes of that noble Gentleman my L. of Buckhurst,⁴ the pretie and pythie conceites of M. George Gascoyne,⁵ and others in great number, no more to be liked than praised, and not so much to be praised, as to be recorded for their eternall commendation".

Hall felt himself far inferior to his predecessors, and one can sympathise with his embarrassment, of which he draws the

¹ Googe translated, in 1560, the first three books of the *Zodiacus Vitae* by Marcellus Palingenius, i.e., Pietro Angelo Manzoli. A second edition in 1561 was dedicated to Cecil, and in 1565 a complete edition of all twelve books was issued.

² Heywood translated *Thyestes* in 1560, continuing with *Hercules Furens*, and *Troas* in 1561.

³ Golding translated the first four books of the *Metamorphoses* in 1565, publishing all fifteen books in 1567.

⁴ The nobleman referred to is Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset and Baron Buckhurst (1536-1608). We have been unable to find that he translated anything. He wrote commendatory verses prefixed to Sir Thomas Hoby's *Courtier*, a translation of Castiglione's *Cortegiano*, in 1561. But he does not seem to have played the part of a translator himself (*D.N.B.*, L, 96-100).

⁵ Gascoigne, along with Francis Kinwelmarsh, translated Euripides' *Phocasta* in 1556. But Hall may have in mind Gascoigne's book, "*A hundreth Sundrie Flowers bounde vp in one small Poesie: Gathered partly by Translations in the fyne outlandish Gardins of Euripides, Ouid, Petrarke, Ariosto, and others,*" which appeared in 1572.

following quaint picture: "These persons, when I minded, I wished I had beene otherwise occupied, I condemned my trauaile, I scratched my head as men doe, when they are greatly barred of their willes". He goes on to tell how the thoughts of Phaer's translation of Vergil drove him to desperation. With an enthusiasm which the modern reader will hardly share, he praises this very inferior version and regretfully compares it with his own work. "When I lighted on M. Thomas Phaers Virgilian Englishe,¹ quoth I, what haue I done? am I become senslesse, to trauaile to be laughed at, to presume and to be scorned, and to put forth my selfe and not to be receiued? for I was so abashed looking vpon M. Phaers Heroicall Virgill and my Satiricall Homer, as I cried out, enuying Virgils prosperitie, who gathered of Homer that he had fallen into the oddest mans hands that euer England bred. And lamented poore blind Homers case, who gathered of no body, to fall to me poore blinde soule, poorely and blindly to learne him to talke our mother Tongue."

Though Hall did well not to boast about his translation, yet he need scarcely have been so modest in comparing it with Phaer's work, the gulf fixed between them being largely of Hall's own imagining. Instead of commiserating with Homer on his misfortune, Vergil might well have joined with the blind poet of Greece to bewail their mutual fate.

However, the recollection of the kind words of Ascham and Heywood, and the certainty that Sir Thomas Cecil, even if disapproving the translation, would appreciate his good will, emboldened Hall to print his work. He defies those critics who may carp at him for having translated from the French and not from the original, for well he knows that he cannot please all men. Even Homer had his detractors, Momus and Zoilus, and surely the master is greater than the apprentice. To show the genius of Homer, Hall quotes the story of Alexander related by Salel in the *Epistre au Roy* prefixed to his version. Refraining from the dithyrambs of the French translator, he recommends all to read Homer. Knowing the prejudices of his own contemporaries, he refutes the attacks of the puritanically minded on Homer, who "haue condemned him heretofore, and doe, for his fonde fabling of the Gods". "Truely I cannot allowe them

¹ Phaer published his translation of the first seven books of the *Æneid* in 1558; nine, and part of the tenth came out in 1562, after his death.

therein," he continues, "for I am not perswaded his beliefe was so grosse touching them, but that he obserued a Poeticall manner of discourse, in citing so often the heauenly powers, as then they were taken, and that he had some peculiar meaning therein, which I conceyue in my opinion, and you (*i.e.* Cecil) I doubte not but will finde."

Hall's translation of Homer is such a rare and valuable book that the inclusion of a few bibliographical remarks cannot be deemed out of place. This version of the first ten books of the *Iliad* was published by Henry Bynneman, who had also printed the *Letter sent by F. A.* In the Stationers' Register for 1581, we find the following entry:—¹

"vicesimo quinto Die Novembris

Henry Bynneman Lycenced vnto him vnder the wardens handes, Tenne Bookes of the Iliades of Homer xijd."

Hall's translation only ran to one edition, this being probably due in some measure to its being superseded in 1598 by Chapman's incomparably more poetical version. The rarity of this old quarto at the present day is therefore explicable. We have been able to trace only five copies now in existence, and of these, the British Museum possesses two, one in a state of perfect preservation, the other slightly defective. The former bears the press-mark C. 39. d. 37 and the latter 11,335. e. 10. The existence of these two copies seems to have caused a certain amount of confusion. Sir Sidney Lee² says only "an imperfect copy is in the British Museum," while Miss Henrietta Palmer, in her valuable list of translations of the classics, merely mentions the better copy.³

The latter would appear to have passed through the hands of several owners. On the title-page, the name A. Gamul is written, whilst in the margin of p. 33 is the name Mallow. On the cover there is a list of prices paid for the book at different sales.

Steevens (<i>sic</i> !)	2. 17
Roxburgh	11. —
White Knights	d. d.

¹ E. Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London*, 1554-1640, II, 175.

² *D.N.B.*, XXIV, 57.

³ *List of English Editions and Translations of the Greek and Latin Classics Printed before 1641*, p. 56.

Underneath this, the name Thomas Newton, Clk. A.M. is pasted on. The text is marked in many places and in different ways. Some verses are underlined in faded ink, others again in pencil. Opposite others a cross or star has been placed in the margin. The author of the pencil marks seems to have been of a philological bent, for he pays special attention to rare words or expressions.¹ At times he gives an explanatory note, as on p. 18, Book II, 7, with reference to "Iohn dreaming God," he writes: "The God of Dreaming was Morpheus. The imaginary being that caused dreaming was stiled by our ancestors John-a-Dreams." Or, again, of the word "weltring" (p. 23, Book II, 170) he says: "Milton applies the word to the Body of his drowned Friend Lycidas in y^e same sense". Of the word "plumps" (p. 25, Book II, 242) he writes: "Crouds or, as we say, *knots* of Men. Perhaps this is y^e original of the word Lump."

In addition to such bold excursions into the dangerous realm of etymological speculation, the author of the pencil marks occasionally ventures on æsthetic appreciation, though this is more seldom. Thus he cannot refrain from exclaiming at Hall's ludicrous translation "Had not Iuno spit on hir handes, and taken better holde" (p. 23, Book II, 183). In other places he marks a happy rendering with approval as, for instance, "he feeles the smart that thrils through euery vayne" (p. 13, Book I, 440), and again, "looking through his browes at him" (p. 26, Book II, 285).

The imperfect copy in the British Museum lacks the first leaf of the *Epistle Dedicatorie* and also pp. 3-8 inclusive, which have been supplied in manuscript.

Two other copies, catalogued as 4° Z 12 Art., and Tanner 788 respectively, are to be found in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The former is bound up in a volume of ancient tracts, and amongst the contents is Thomas Phaer's translation of the first seven books of the *Æneid*. The copy of Hall is in good condition, except at the top right-hand corner where there is a hole. On the title-page the name of the author is not given in full, but only the initials A. H. are printed. Under the latter has been

¹ Stoures, p. 12, Book I, 416; ferly, p. 14, Book I, 478; herrie, p. 14, Book I, 479; peate, p. 16, Book I, 549; twig, p. 19, Book II, 24; ybet, p. 19, Book II, 46; feere, p. 21, Book II, 103; foile, p. 21, Book II, 124; weltring, p. 23, Book II, 170; whush, p. 23, Book II, 174; yed, p. 23, Book II, 180; daald, p. 24, Book II, 219; mother nakte, p. 26, Book II, 301; bombes, p. 27, Book II, 305.

added in ink Ab. (*sic* !) Hall. Below this, another owner has made a mark, apparently Wm., his Christian name. Outside the ornamental border is written in ink the name Thom. Tanner. It would seem, therefore, that this copy like Tanner 788 belonged to Thomas Tanner.

A fifth copy of Hall's Homer was in the celebrated Huth collection¹ and was sold at Messrs. Sotheby's on June 12, 1913, for £33, to Mr. Bernard Quaritch. It is now in the possession of the well-known American collector, Mr. W. A. White, of 158 Columbia Heights, Brooklyn, N.Y.

These five copies differ from one another only in minor particulars. In the following account of these divergences, the perfect copy at the British Museum is styled BM1, the imperfect copy BM2. The copies at the Bodleian Library, Tanner 778 and 4° Z 12 Art., are indicated by O1 and O2. The former Huth copy is referred to as H. BM1 and O1 give the name of the author in full as Arthur Hall, Esquire, whilst BM2, O2, and H have only the initials A. H. The name of the printer Ralph Newberie is spelt *Ralphe* in BM2, O2, and H, the others having the form *Ralph*. The woodcut border at the bottom contains the initials of the publisher Henry Bynneman in BM1, BM2, O1, and O2, but not in H. Certain errors in pagination are common to all five copies, *viz.*, pp. 49, 86, 110, 133, 136 for 46, 89, 107, 129, 132 respectively, whilst on p. 143 the pagination is missing. In addition to this, however, in BM2 the pagination is missing on pp. 167 and 168. On p. 117 there is only 17 in H. Slight differences occur also in the signatures. BM1, O1, and O2 have no signature on the title-page, whilst BM2 and H bear the signature A. The collation gives us A to Z thus, A—Aij—Aiiij at intervals of two pages, B after four pages, and so on. Then comes Aa to Bbij at similar intervals. The title-page runs thus:—

TEN BOOKS / of Homers Iliades / *translated out of* / French,
By *Arthur* / Hall Esquire / (:·) / AT LONDON / *Imprinted by*
Ralph / Nevvberie. / 1581 / *Cum Priuilegio.*

It is "surrounded with an elegant wood-cut border, containing the arms of Queen Elizabeth, supported by figures of Fame and Victory at the top, with the Stationers' Arms at the bottom,

¹ See *A Catalogue of the Huth Library*, II, D-H, p. 717, London, 1880.

and the lion and the dragon in the corners".¹ The *Epistle Dedicatorie* begins on Aiiij and occupies four pages, not numbered. As for the text itself, it begins on sheet B or p. 1 and runs to one page after Bbij or p. 188. The title-page is partly in capitals, partly in Roman type, and partly in italics. The *Epistle Dedicatorie* is in italics, the page headings and names of persons being, however, in Roman type. The text is in black-letter, whilst the page and margin headings are in Roman type. The names of persons and a few other words in the text are in Roman type, but place-names and some other words are in italics. "Greekes" and "Troyans," etc., are generally in black-letter, though sometimes in Roman type. "Greece" is in black-letter in a few cases. The initial Æ of names of persons, e.g., Æneas, is in italic type in the text, the rest of the word being in Roman. In the margin, on the other hand, the Æ is in Roman type. Each book begins with an ornamental capital.

It was the second edition of Salel, an octavo volume published at Paris in 1555 by Estienne Groulleau, which Hall used. By a happy accident his own copy is still preserved at the British Museum (996, c. 14 (1)). The binding, which was very old and bore the Tudor rose, has now been replaced by a new one. On the title-page we find the owner's inscription "Arthurus Hallus emit iis., 1556". Here and there ticks are visible in the margin in faded ink. On p. xxxviii recto the word Boeotie is underlined and in the margin is written

alit^r
Cadmeis
Aorria
Hiantis.

On one occasion Hall's copy seems to have fallen into the mud. Traces of this are to be seen on pp. cxl verso, cxli recto and verso, and on cxlii; elsewhere it is also obvious that the book has been wet. It bears marks, too, of having been perused diligently, in the shape of occasional blots or smudges. It is stained, more especially at the beginning, and has been well thumbed. With this copy is also bound Salel's translation of Books XI, XII, and the beginning of XIII, published at Paris in 1554.

¹ See Thomas Corser's account in *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, pp. 105-8.

CHAPTER XVI.

STYLE AND TECHNIQUE OF HALL'S TRANSLATION.

ALTHOUGH Hall's translation is, as he expressly tells us in the dedication, not based on the original, he does not confess to being ignorant of Greek. But it is clear that even if he did possess any knowledge of Greek, it was unequal to the task of rendering Homer. He therefore fell back on the French translation of Salel, and where this was incomplete, as in the case of the catalogue of the Greek princes at the end of Book II, he consulted a Latin version.¹ In the eyes of Elizabethan translators it was no sin to avail oneself of the services of an intermediary. North's Plutarch, Nicolls's Thucydides, and Underdowne's Heliodorus were all open to the same objection as Hall's Homer. The enthusiasm for the Renaissance was such that the Elizabethans were well content if the substance was laid before them. They seized on the central features, and left all minor details to an age of more exact but less spacious vision. Like most of the Elizabethan translators, Hall was a man of the world and no professional scholar. It was in the spirit of a keenly interested amateur that he approached his work.

To form an idea of Hall's personal contribution to his translation, we must compare it with the French rendering of Salel. A cursory glance suffices to show that the English author has not tied himself down to a literal translation. It is true that he generally follows the gist of the French text with a fair degree of accuracy, but as regards the details he takes great liberties. He changes the construction, omits and compresses, adds and extends, just as he thinks fit. The result is often a striking divergence between the two translations. Of course, the verse is a

¹ See the preface to his translation. There were many Latin versions of Homer for him to choose from, though none by an Englishman. It was not until 1583 that the works of Homer "*grece et latine*" were licensed to H. Bynneman, the printer of Hall's own translation two years earlier.

factor which must be taken into account in weighing up such modifications. But the change from a 5-foot to a 7-foot line is not responsible for all these alterations. As long as Hall rendered the spirit, he troubled little about the matter of the translation. In this respect he was but following the usual practice of the Elizabethan translators. He was, too, only claiming for himself the same freedom as Salel had demanded in the *Epistre au Roy* prefixed to his version. The translator ought not to render line for line, says Salel,

Car personne viuante
Tant elle soit docte & bien escriuante,
Ne sçauroit faire entrer les Epithetes
Du tout en rythme. Il souffist des Poëtes
La volonté estre bien entenduë,
Et la sentence auec grace renduë.

Instances of the way in which Hall availed himself of these privileges are to be found on almost every page. Thus in the discussion between Achilles and Agamemnon regarding the proposed compensation of the latter for his loss of Chryseis, Achilles says in the French text—

Donc fauldroit rassembler
Tout le butin: ce qui pourroit troubler,
Et mutiner le peuple grandement.

(I, 235-37.)

This is translated by Hall—

Belike we must the spoiles amasse, which is not easely done,
And bring the camp to mutine to.

(I, 137-38.)

Agamemnon having demanded and obtained Briseis, Achilles keeps to his tent in a state of dejection and despondency:—

This while Achilles keeps his tent, for matters of the sworde
He neither makes nor medels with, nor yet to counsel commes,
In minde with trouble ouerchargde, he griued sits, and glommes.

(I, 488-90.)

On referring to Salel we find—

Durant cecy Achillés se tenoit
Au pauillon, & n'alloit ny venoit,
Fust en combat, ou bien en assemblée,
Tant il auoit sa pensée troublée.

(I, 821-24.)

Whilst some of these changes were doubtless made consciously, others must be attributed to the unconscious influence

of the author's personality. Hall and Salel were so unlike both in character and occupation, that a corresponding dissimilarity in style seems only natural. The training of an abbot in France must have been somewhat different from that of a well-to-do English gentleman of the Elizabethan age. It would be unwise to lay too much stress on the influence of Salel's studies on his mental attitude, for his works as a whole smack rather of the libertine courtier than of the saintly priest. Nevertheless, as compared with the concrete bent of that English sport-loving squire and member of Parliament, Arthur Hall, Salel's manner of thinking frequently appears somewhat abstract. These respective mental attitudes of Hall and Salel may be illustrated by a passage from the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon. Salel makes the latter say—

*l'iray querir Briseida la gente,
Ta bien aymée : à fin qu'on puisse veoir
De combien est plus haultain mon pouoir
Que n'est ta force, & que doresnauant,
Nul tant hardy, ne se mette en auant,
De se vouloir à moy equiparer.*

(I, 334-39.)

Hall's translation stands in striking contrast. Here Agamemnon does not refer to his power, but roundly asserts himself the mightiest of all kings. He does not speak merely of a rival daring to oppose him, but declares none will ever dare to raise his head against him :—

*To thy Pauillion wil I send tricke Brysida to bring
Thy best beloued, that al men knowe how pusaunter a King
I am than thou, and that henceforth none be so hardie bolde
To put vp head to matche with me, by whom I be controlde.*

(I, 197-200.)

It is just on such occasions as this, when passion plays a part, when the voice of violence is heard, that Salel seems to find less fitting words than Hall. However the latter may mutilate the old Greek heroes, he makes them speak like human beings. Their language is that of the human heart and not that of books or schools. They talk like men of flesh and blood and not like pale class-room figures. We find an excellent example of this in two lines describing the grief of Achilles at the loss of the beautiful Briseis. His mother has sought to console him and promised to obtain redress at the hands of Jupiter. Left alone

once more, Achilles is again overwhelmed by the sense of his loss :—

A boorde he keepes in paine
For Brisies (*sic* !) gone, he feeles the smart, that thrills through euery vayne.
(I, 439-40.)

On turning to Salel, we find the feelings of Achilles described in words which seem tame compared with the above :—

Et Achillés des vaisseaux ne sortit,
Ayant son ame oultrée & transportée,
Pour Briseis, qu'on luy auoit ostée.
(I, 744-46.)

These cases seem to point to a more living acquaintance with the dark and tragic side of things, on the part of Hall. In fact, he was imbued with that spirit which breathes from so many of his fellow-countrymen and contemporaries. A glance at Hall's life shows us a turbulent roysterer, full of high spirits, a heavy drinker, and a hard liver, who knew what adversity was from bitter experience, whilst Salel looked out upon life from the cloistered seclusion of the monastery of Saint Chéron or through the golden halo of his sovereign's favour. It is therefore obvious that in dealing with the stirring scenes of the *Iliad*, when the jar of human passions and the clang of arms are heard, where subtlety of intellect is relegated to the background, a man like Hall has a distinct advantage over an ecclesiastic like Salel. The English translator, as his life proves, was a stubborn fighter, and having so much of the warrior spirit in him, is better fitted to describe the life of camps than is a scholar and court poet like Salel. This we may see on referring to those lines where Achilles, speaking of his exploits against Priam and his dynasty, says :—

Many a subiect towne of his, and neighbors quite haue bin
To ruine, sacke and bootie brought : the wallles of Ætion
The puissant king, by me were torne.

(I, 374-76.)

Salel's version runs as follows :—

Mainte cité, sa subiecte & voisine,
A esté mise en totale ruine.
Mesmes la ville au grand Roy Ætion,
Par mon effort fut à destruction.

(I, 635-38.)

Intimately connected with this concrete trait in Hall's style is a certain directness, which at times becomes abruptness or

bluntness. These are not the qualities of an acute metaphysician or a skilled dialectician. They are, on the other hand, characteristic of the man of action. The close relationship between Hall's abruptness and his concrete turn of mind is illustrated by the words of Achilles when he speaks of his "tearing the walls of *Ætion*". Such an abruptness certainly seems far more in keeping with the violent temper of an Achilles or an Agamemnon, than do the winding phrases of Salel. In the conflict between the two great leaders, Hall's language appears much nearer reality than that of the French translator. Thus Agamemnon declares he will abandon all claim on Chryseis, simultaneously demanding compensation for this sacrifice:—

But quickly looke in lieu of hir, for me some present out,
You wel shal know, of al these folke I wil not be the lout.

(I, 129-30.)

The same hero in Salel's version says:—

& pour me reparer
Deliberez de tost me preparer
Vng aultre don: Car pas ne sera veu
Que ie demeure entre tous despourueu.

(I, 223-26.)

In Hall's translation the energetic, domineering nature of Agamemnon, bent on personal gratification at all costs and in the teeth of all opposition, is strongly emphasised. The Greek chief does not trouble to consult the wishes of others, but simply strives to fulfil his own desires and attain his own ends. Hall's abrupt style is therefore well suited to such a powerful, haughty nature, born to sway and command. Both Achilles and Agamemnon use the language of men accustomed to lead rather than to obey. The former, addressing his rival, says:—

Let not thy minde so runne,
Obey the Gods, yeelde vp the maide. . . .

(I, 138-39.)

A few lines farther on, Agamemnon threatens to deprive Achilles or Ajax or Ulysses of their share of the booty, unless he receives compensation for Chryseis. Then he abruptly brings his speech to a close with these words:—

And here an end. I thinke it good to Sea we ready make
A vessell strong.

(I, 152-53.)

His speech in French dress runs as follows :—

Et au surplus, laissant tout ce langage,
Je suis d'aduis qu'on dresse l'equipage
D'une grand nef.

(I, 261-63.)

Just in such scenes as these between Achilles and Agamemnon, where threats and defiance hurtle through the air, Hall must have felt in his element. With Achilles, in particular, he would feel a natural sympathy based on mutual misfortune. If we remember Arthur Hall's position when he revised and completed his translation of Homer, we shall readily understand what delight he took in these events of the old Greek epic. A man of merit, unrecognised or rather held back by the jealous machinations of his enemies, hardly dealt with in the matter of Mallory by the House of Commons, Hall had first of all retired to his country house like Achilles to his ship, there to brood over his wrongs and plot revenge. His imprisonment in the Tower at the order of the Speaker still left him defiant, and with what feeling would he not recite the words of Achilles to Agamemnon :—

I were . . . a coward leude, if I agreed to brooke,
Thy gouernaunce, after thy wil I rulde will be no more,
For no obedience looke of me.

(I, 296-98.)

Admirably as Hall entered into the spirit of these scenes, he failed entirely in others. He forgot that what is suitable in the camp of the Greeks is not necessarily appropriate everywhere. In this respect Hall shows a decided lack of taste in the description of the gods on Olympus, and especially in the scenes between Jove and Juno. He introduces the rough tone of the camp among the gods of high heaven. The restraint and dignity of language, which should correspond to their high elevation above all mere mortals, is entirely lacking. Even in Salel, of course, Juno is depicted as a shrew, but in Hall she becomes a veritable vixen and Jove himself uses the language of a wife-beater. Take, for instance, Jove's words, after giving due expression to his resentment at Juno's meddlesome inquisitiveness :—

Go sit you downe, and talke no more so fonde and foolishly,
Least moued I, with both my fistes I giue you banging lawes,
And in such sort, as no God here can saue you from my clawes.

(I, 560-62.)

In Salel, we find no such undignified references to "banging lawes" and "clawes":—

Or va t'asseoir, que ie n'oye parole
Doresnauant si temeraire & fole :
Dont quelquefois transporté de courroux,
De mes deux mains, ie te baille telz coups,
Que tous les dieux qui sont en l'assistance,
Ne puissent rien pour ton ayde & deffence.

(I, 941-46.)

Even more undignified is a reference made by Vulcan to this quarrel. Perceiving Jupiter's wrath, he endeavours to persuade his mother to yield to the angry god's wishes. He warns her that it were better to do this—

Least greater shame you hap to haue, he laying you on the Hide.

(I, 591.)

To a modern reader there will always seem something ludicrous in the idea of the chief of the gods beating his divine consort, but Hall does not attempt to tone down the absurdity. The situation in his translation is conveyed in more drastic terms than in Salel, according to whom Juno is to defer to Jove's will:—

Affin que plusgrand honte
Ne t'aduienne en te voyant batuë.

(I, 988-89.)

Indeed, it is difficult to understand exactly what was Hall's conception of Juno. Our wonder increases on reading that the Greeks would have taken to their ships and returned home:—

Had not Iuno spit on hir handes, and taken better holde.

(II, 183.)

However, even if Juno fares ill at the hands of Hall, she has companions in distress. In his use of undignified language, the English translator is singularly impartial. Pallas is reminded "that Ioue thy maister is and dad" (VIII, 413); Mars, being wounded, gives vent to a "thundring bleate and rore" (V, 907); whilst all "the Gods and Goddesses as Cattes and Dogges agree" (V, 918).

Priam, having been present at the negotiations between the Greeks and Trojans, decides to leave the camp:—

Againe Priam perceiuing well, that thus this geare would fodge,
Said to the Greekes and Troyans both, I thinke it best I trodge.

(III, 363-64.)

Priam could, at any rate, not be reproached with excessive ceremoniousness in his leave-taking.

On other occasions too, when solemnity cannot be expected, when insults are exchanged amongst the heroes of the epic, Hall puts words in their mouths which may be expressive, but are certainly out of place. Thus Agamemnon is referred to as "the great Calfe" (II, 41); Ulysses, reproving some mutinous soldier, styles him "beastly wretche" and "hedgehog" (II, 232-33); we are informed that Thersites "was a surly knaue, and eke a dogged swine" (II, 247); Pallas calls Mars "a wrangling craking wretche" and a "slauering Iacke" (V, 880), whilst Agamemnon applies to Menelaus the homely but forceful words "thou asse" (III, 119).

Now and then Hall uses popular terms, racy expressions of the day, which at times come perilously near slang. Thus Agamemnon reproaches his men with cowardice and cries:—

Where is the kilcow chatte become in Lemnos which you had
Vpon your Alebenche, where you were so impudent and mad?
Then one of you would kil and eat fise hundred Trojans full.

(VIII, 221-23.)

When the Greeks have suffered great losses, Juno asks Neptune:—

Art thou not grievd (quoth she) to see the Greeks hit on the thumbs?

(VIII, 190.)

Apollo appeals to Mars to intervene on behalf of the Trojans, and put an end to the exploits of Diomedes:—

for he would make no stoppe
An enimie to be to Ioue, and ride vppon his toppe,
Who made no bones so ill t'array Venus thy sister here.

(V, 499-501.)

Agamemnon holds back Menelaus, as he is preparing to go out against Hector. Some means will be found to deal with the Trojan:—

We shall finde one shall make him stirre his stumps,
Though that a dreadlesse knight he be, and though in martiall iumps,
A souldior bold.

(VII, 125-27.)

Filled with grief at the sight of the wounded Menelaus, Agamemnon cries :—

can Gods iustice be mum,
Alas, at rancour so much faynde ?

(IV, 172-73.)

Æneas is not dismayed at the exploits of Diomedes, although he

thus behelde the Troyans go to wracke,
With wounds and slaughter only one to put them al to sacke,
And at his pleasure play the Bug.

(V, 183.)

But what are we to think of Hall as a translator when we read how Jupiter warns his divine consort :—

Thinke not my minde then to withstand, for copper thou mightst get.
(IV, 53.)

Closely connected with Hall's partiality for homely and forceful epithets, is a certain realistic tendency of which numerous illustrations may be found. This trait is especially striking in his descriptions of the sea or the ships that furrow its waters. As a result of his childhood days spent at Calais and of his extensive travels, Hall was well acquainted with things nautical. This makes his translation more lifelike than that of Salel, when it deals with the sea. On the return of Ulysses, after bringing back Chryseis to her father, the preparations for the voyage are thus described by Salel :—

Et quand l'aube aprocha,
Chascun s'apreste à voguer, & ramer,
Dressans le mast, singlant en haulte mer :
Si qu'en bref temps avec l'ayde de Dieu,
Qui leur donna le vent par le millieu
De la grand voile

(I, 810-15)

The corresponding passage in Hall runs thus :—

At peepe of day eche onē prepares to plucke, to bale, to rowe.
To loftie seas the Maste they hoyse, Gods ayde they do not lacke,
For shortly with ye winde he gaue (which made their sayles to crack) . . .
(I, 482-84.)

It is only a man familiar with boats and ships, who would seize on the detail of the bailing out the water before setting sail. Moreover, the noise of the sails caused by the wind gives a far more vivid picture of the strength of the breeze than is

obtained from Salel. There is in this a somewhat realistic element which the French translator lacks.

But this feature appears not only in Hall's descriptions of the sea. When fighting is to be done, blows exchanged and wounds given or received, he generally contrives to insert some realistic detail or other. In the opening lines he speaks of the "trunckes lying gaping and vpright," and a little later Achilles expresses the hope that God will protect the Greeks from their enemies:—

God graunt the weapons of our foes doe not our bowels gore.

(I, 72.)

It is, however, particularly in describing the wounding of warriors that Hall's realism becomes apparent—even disagreeably so. Pandarus, believing himself to have dealt Diomedes a mortal blow, cries in exultation:—

Diomedés, ce coup t'a penetré
Iusques au ventre, & tellement entré,
Que tu ne peulx desia te soustenir.

(V, 479-81.)

In Hall's translation we read:—

O Diomede the deede now is it done,
Wherby I iustly iudge my selfe the happiest vnder sunne.
This blow so deepe it pierced hath thy side, and pretie poke
Of guts, as die of force thou must, receiuing thus the stroke.

(V, 307-10.)

Hall's descriptions are doubtless very graphic, but here, as elsewhere, the results he achieves are not of the happiest.

Still it cannot be denied that Hall at times surpasses his French original in vividness, a quality which stands in near relationship to his liking for the concrete and forcible. The opening lines of the first book offer us an example. We hear how thousands of the Greeks—

To Plutoes Courte did yeelede their soules and gaping lay vpright,
Those sencelesse trunckes of buriall voide, by them erst gaily borne,
By rauening curres and carreine foules, in peeces to be torne.

(I, 4-6.)

The difference is easily perceived on turning to Salel where we read:—

Vng grand nombre d'espritz . . .
Feit lors descente aux infernales vmbres:
Et leurs beaulx corps, priuez de sepulture,
Furent aux chiens, & aux oiseaulx pasture.

(I, 4-8.)

A few lines further on, we are told that the cause of the pestilence was the wrath of Phœbus, the son of

That mighty God, who down his lightning throws,
With stormes of haile, and thunderclaps. . . .
(I, 11-12.)

Compared with this, Salel seems tame and weak. Phœbus is the son of Latona

Et du grand Dieu qui Gresle, Esclaire, & Tonne.
(I, 16.)

Another feature of Hall's style, which combines with its vividness, directness, and vigour to make it superior in force to the French original, is its conciseness. Many instances can be found where Hall compresses the French into much smaller space, so that a little of the brevity and forcefulness of the Greek is then regained. It would seem that Hall consciously aimed at concentrating the somewhat diffuse and rambling style of Salel as much as possible. Even a cursory glance will suggest the likelihood of this, and the assumption is fully confirmed by a closer examination. In the Greek text, the first ten books contain 6270 lines, in Hall's version 6627, and in Salel's 10,121. From the above we see that Hall approaches the Greek text in brevity, whilst he is immeasurably superior to Salel in this respect, even if we take into account the shorter metre of the French version. Against this, however, must be set the fact that Salel omitted the lengthy catalogue of the ships, which would have increased the number of lines in his translation very considerably.

Many cases will be noticed where Hall contrives to express in a few words the contents of several sentences in Salel. Thus—

See that I considered be,
(I, 148.)

corresponds to—

Proposez, par moyen conuenable,
De me pourueoir, d'honeste recompense.
(I, 254-55.)

Another example is:—

Your greaters and your grauers to, I known haue heretofore.
(I, 266.)

This corresponds to—

*I'ay conuersé souuent avec plusieurs
Plus grans de force, & de conseil meilleurs
Que nul de vous.*

(I, 449-51.)

And build on this

in I, 299 translates—

*Encore te veulx d'une chose asseurer
Que tu doibs bien craindre, & considerer
Cest à sçauoir que. . .*

(I, 509-11.)

In many other instances Hall seems to have a special knack of hitting on one English word as the equivalent of several in the French original. Thus in I, 147, we find "Vnrecompense" corresponding to "Sans recevoir aucun don, en lieu d'elle"; "You must" (I, 576) stands for "Il est besoing de te monstrar"; "entreateth" (p. 510) is the equivalent of "dressa sa priere"; in I, 496 we read "Thetis from the sea to heauen hir selfe doth prest" for "Thetis sortit de la mer. . . / Monta aux cieulx" and in I, 613 "Ioue to his Chamber hies" for "Iuppiter aussy feit sa retraicte / Dans sa chambre".

As a result of this striving after compression, after an expression of truly concentrated force, Hall at times attains a praiseworthy pithiness, but occasionally he lapses into obscurity. It may happen that his translation is still fairly intelligible in English, so that we should not suspect any lack of skill on the translator's part, until we turn to the French. Then we may discover how much Hall has lost in clearness in comparison with the absolute lucidity of Salel. Instances of ambiguity are not lacking in Hall. Thus when Agamemnon says in I, 154-55, that he thinks it good that one of the Greeks shall—

*Accompany the Lady home vnto hir father now,
With honor due religiously the Aultars high to reare,*

we might hesitate as to what "with honor due" refers to. Probably we should conclude that the lady was to be conducted to her father, and that the altars should then be raised with all due ceremony. Moreover, Hall's translation makes it appear as if the purpose of the voyage was chiefly to build these altars. From Salel we get quite a different view of things. There Agamemnon declares he is of opinion—

Que la Dame, aiant pour compaignie
L'vng d'entre vous, soit honorablement
Menée au père : & la deuotement
Dresséz autelz.

(I, 264-67.)

Here, there can be no doubt that Chryseis is to be conducted "with honor due," and when the true purpose of the voyage, her return to her father, is fulfilled, sacrifice is to be offered to Apollo. Equally misleading is the translation we have in I, 281-82. Nestor is explaining to the assembled leaders of the Greeks that all derive their authority in the first place from Jupiter himself:—

Of al the sceptred Princes none so high is seated downe,
As ouer hiest Ioue appoints the scepter and the crowne.

This appears to mean that none of the Greek leaders is so mighty as to make another man king or give him higher rank against Jove's will. The word "hiest" would probably be conceived by the reader as an epithet for Jove. Salel reveals to us a very different conception. Nestor says:—

Car tous les Roys, qui sceptres ont portez,
Oncques ne sont en si hault lieu montez,
Comme cestuy, à qui Iuppiter donne
Sur les plus grandz, le sceptre, & la corone.

(I, 477-80.)

That is to say, no one has ever ventured to contest the authority of that king whom Jove has appointed over all, however great they may be.

In other passages Hall differs so greatly from Salel that much of the original's clearness is lost, even though no question of ambiguity may arise. Thus in I, 264 we find:—

By kindled heate in quarrell thus our greatest Princes lours.

Here, "By kindled heate" is less clear than Salel's "Par colere enflammée".

A striking example is again to be found, just after Agamemnon has ordered the heralds to go and bring him Briseis from the tent of Achilles. Alluding to this command, the poet says:—

Suche were his wordes, outragious, more fond and foolishe vaine.

(I, 330.)

How much clearer Salel is :—

Ainsi parla, disant plusieurs paroles,
Encores plus outrageuses, & foles.

(I, 565-66.)

In Hall's translation the fact is lost sight of that Agamemnon, having given the command to Talthybios and Eurybates, added a number of foolish and insulting remarks. We imagine the order to have been "outrageous," whilst the expression "more fond and foolishe vaine" does not seem to fit in, and can, in fact, only be explained by referring to the original.

These and many other passages which might be quoted, though they may want something of Salel's perspicuity, are nevertheless not difficult to understand. Occasionally, however, the reader comes upon lines which defy all attempt at interpretation, so much having been changed and lost in the process of translation. In the course of the strife between Achilles and Agamemnon, the latter breathes defiance of his rival :—

But herewith your audacitie that further I doe daunt,
Sith that Apolloes pleasure is, and ordaines vs to graunt,
That I Chryses restore againe. . . .

(I, 193-95.)

The construction here is sadly changed for the worse, as we see on proceeding to compare Salel's version :—

Et ce pendant pour dompter ton audace,
Escoute bien ce dont ie te menace.
Puis que Phœbus le dieu, veult & ordonne,
Que maintenant Chryseis i' habandonne. . . .

(I, 327-30.)

The desire for compression has prevailed over that for clarity of expression. The omission of Salel's second line produces a certain incongruity in the English text, which is further heightened by the stiffness and awkwardness of the lines following.

The dispute between the two leaders is interrupted by the speech of Nestor, of whom we are told—

That speaker sweete delighting tong therewith duke Nestor rose,
From Heauen had, much pleasaunter than Hony from him flowes.

(I, 257-58.)

Salel describes him as follows :—

Surquoy Nestor le doulx & beau parleur,
Qui des haults cieulx auoit receu tel heur,
Que plus que miel, doulce estoit la harangue,
Qui decouloit de sa diserte langue.

(I, 433-36.)

Concluding his speech, Nestor turns to Agamemnon and says:—

And Agamemnon take it,
Appease your rage and your abuse, lette not your calling make it.
(I, 285-86.)

These cryptical lines are perfectly clear in Salel:—

Et toy aussy (Agamemnon) appaise
Doresnauant ceste fureur mauuaise,
Sans abuser de ton autorité.
(I, 485-87.)

Whilst Hall's leaning for concentrated expression, which may be compressed to the point of obscurity, is everywhere evident, there are passages of which just the contrary is true. At intervals one finds lines even more diffuse and rambling than the original. But such instances are rarer than those we have just dealt with in speaking of Hall's concise and compressed style. An example of verbiage occurs at the close of Agamemnon's speech, when he declares his intention of appropriating Briseis. Then, says he, Achilles will know who is the greater, and none will be so bold as—

To put vp head to matche with me, by whom I be controlde.
(I. 200.)

In the French text we have a much shorter version. None, boasts Agamemnon, will be presumptuous enough—

De se vouloir à moy equiparer.
(I, 339.)

In the scene where Hector reproaches Paris for sitting at home, whilst the Trojan cause is going to wrack and ruin, he tells him he is hiding his head—

As ringleader and coward chiefe of all that ere was bred.
(VI, 446.)

This corresponds to the following words in Salel—"comme le chef des lasches".

There might seem something contradictory in Hall's occasional rambling translations, as compared with his usual liking for brevity and conciseness. It must not be forgotten, however, that he is wrestling with the difficulties of metre, and it will generally be found that where his rendering is lengthier than that of Salel, this must be ascribed to the exigencies of time.

The contradiction is therefore only apparent, and the fact remains that Hall strives after conciseness wherever he can.

Such considerable changes as Hall makes in this process of condensing and adapting Salel's version to the needs of another language and another metre, entail, of necessity, a certain sacrifice of accuracy. Inexactitudes of a minor nature abound everywhere, though these are almost all consciously made by the translator. Real misunderstandings of the French text are, on the other hand, somewhat rare. Hall seems to have been a good French scholar and it is seldom that his knowledge fails him.

At times we feel quite sure that Hall has deliberately changed the French text and that his alteration is not a mere blunder, but on other occasions one wonders if he has not made a slip. It seems as though he had misunderstood the French original in the scene where Achilles is debating within himself whether to slay Agamemnon and break up the assembly, or to control his anger as well as he can. Salel's lines tell us how Achilles hesitated whether to kill his rival:—

Et despartir toute celle assemblée,
Ou appaiser sa pensée troublée.

(I, 345-46.)

Hall, apparently misunderstanding "despartir," translates thus:—

To appease the wrong he did conceaue,
To holde him stil, to parte them fro, and company to leaue.

(I, 203-4.)

When Achilles has preferred his complaint to his mother, the latter is touched by the account of her son's wrongs and promises to use her influence with Jupiter.

Puis qu'ainsi va, ie feray mon deuoir
De te complaire, & le feray scauoir
A Iuppiter, en luy persuadant
Doresnauant, qu'il soit ton los gardant.

(I, 727-30.)

This Hall renders in the following lines:—

Wel, thee to please, I wil to Ioue, perswading diuerse wayes,
In telling this, that to thy *lasse* he be a setter an.

(I, 430-31.)

The English version makes very curious reading, and it would seem as if the word "los" had been a stumbling-block to Arthur Hall.

A curious mistake is several times made by Hall in passages referring to the divine messenger Iris:—

Adonc Iris partit du mont Idée
Pour accomplir la charge commandée

(VIII, 695-96.)

is translated by

Iris his message to fulfill from Ida mount he skores.

(VIII, 403.)

and "Iris tost s'en vola" (VIII, 721) is rendered by—

Iris he flies his wayes.

(VIII, 419.)

It is difficult to see why Hall should have chosen to transform Iris into a male, all the more so as the French text in several places makes it perfectly clear that a female being is meant. Of course, it is possible that Hall had Hermes (Mercury) in mind, but his translation is strikingly inaccurate for all that.

Another weakness in Hall's translation, which cannot escape the reader's attention, is the occasional lapse into a jargon of French or Latin words. Speaking in a general manner, it may be said that Hall is very idiomatic, so that his sporadic Gallicisms seem all the more inexplicable and out of place. French influence is at work in many cases, particularly affecting the vocabulary. Agamemnon addresses Ulysses as "Illustre Prince" (IV, 379); Hebe prepares "sweet bains" (V, 951); the Trojans make ready to "shield their patrie breede" (VIII, 60); Minerva puts "in poynt hir horses" (VIII, 376); the battle-field is full of "morts" (X, 184); we read of swords "edged with point of perfect trampe" (X, 243), of "the male and fem" (le masle—la femelle) (IX, 310), and "a hartlesse fem" (VIII, 151) or a "poore simple fem" (IX, 722). From time to time we also meet with examples of deeper-going French influence. Here it is not the vocabulary which has donned the Gallic dress, but the fundamental grammatical rules of English are violently altered. Thus the Trojan herald addresses the hostile leaders as "Ye prudent hardie princes Greekes" (VII, 398) and Nestor is several times referred to as "The Nestor olde" (VIII, 182; X, 16).

Any purist would revolt at these glaring violations of English traditions, but what is to be said about Hall's practice of intro-

ducing crumbs of Latin into an English context? This leads to an intolerable jargon, which must have seemed curious even to the catholic mind of an Elizabethan. Of Thersites we are told—

and for his head, it pillde was like an Ape,
A *Crassum caput*. . . .

(II, 254-55.)

When Agamemnon calls upon all the powers of heaven and earth to witness his vow, that if Paris slay Menelaus in single combat, he shall possess Helen, he cries "Be *Testes* here" (III, 335). Menelaus prays to Jove for help in the struggle. May Paris die that posterity shall avoid such betrayals of confidence as his! In Salel we read:—

A celle fin que la Posterité,
Craigne tousiours de faire villenie
Dans le Logis, ou. . . .

(III, 648-51.)

Hall's rendering of this is not very clear. In his version, Menelaus wishes that babes unborn may hear of the death of Paris:—

To make them feare their friendly *Ius*, as wretches to defile.

(III, 417.)

Regarding the ointments used by Machaon to heal the wound of Menelaus, we are told how the physician had learnt from *Æsculapius* himself:—

Machaon of him his knowledge caught,
Which were *Probatum* oft to heale.

(IV, 238-39.)

Needless to say, there is nothing of this jargon in Salel. In this respect, as in many others, Hall stands unfortunately far below his French model, who with all his weaknesses certainly possessed good literary taste and judgment.¹

In spite of the detrimental influence such a hotch-potch exercises on Hall's translation, there are other even more serious blemishes. In many cases these may be traced back to the fact that Hall was writing in verse, for which he does not seem to have possessed a native gift. He himself calls it "the hardest

¹ In his prose work, for instance in the *Letter sent by F. A.*, Hall is extremely fond of interlarding fragments of Latin.

For this we read in Salel:—

Car en nulle maniere,
Ne te feray, pour t'arrester priere.

(I, 311-12.)

Such extensions seriously detract from that conciseness and pithiness, which we have seen to be characteristic of Hall. A similar unfortunate tendency to counteract his natural brevity and forcefulness is produced by frequent insertions for the sake of rime. Two examples may be taken at random, where we should seek in vain for an equivalent in the French text. Achilles bids Calchas speak, for "I wil defende thy right" (I, 100). This expression corresponds to nothing in Salel, but is necessary for the rime with "might" in l. 99. Thetis begs a favour of Jove on behalf of her son and concludes, "I craue it at your hand" (I, 514). This, again, is an insertion to secure a rime with "stand" in I, 515.

Quite apart from these extensions and insertions, we find certain tags regularly used to fill up the line and obtain a rime. The following are specimens of such tags:—

indeede, sundry wayes, diuers wayes, in sundry wise, in any wise, anye way, in any rate, in any case, in this wise, no maner wayes, in euery maner wight, of sundry kind, in euery place, any whit, by and by, at all, at full, thorowe all, in such sort, ynough, ywis, I trow, I say, I weene, by my reede, with might and maine, amaine, it so did seeme.

On reading such lines as—

Of Gods ye puissant might
Obedience doth most esteeme, in euery manner wight,

(I, 227-28.)

or—

And nothing finds can him resist, no any kinde of way,

(V, 94.)

one is inclined to wish for some Elizabethan Chaucer to parody these survivals of mediæval style.

Hall's use of such tags is not restricted to the end of the line. Though the need is perhaps less urgent than that of obtaining a rime, he often requires one or more syllables within the line. To secure these he throws in some stock word or phrase. But whilst satisfying metrical needs, such stop-gaps generally weaken the æsthetic effect of the translation. Those which Hall most commonly uses are:—

at all, for why, so, eke, all (*cf.* all dead = quite dead), yea, well, right, full.

The last four are Hall's favourites, and their plentiful interspersions are anything but advantageous. Their effect will easily be appreciated by the following examples :—

Ech one should fight, constraynde of force, in spite yea of his head.
(IV, 318.)

Almost wel weary of the toyle. . . .
(V, 682.)

from him there gone
Right terrible flames which forth he breathes,
(VI, 263-64.)

ful right like a man of warre.
(VII, 205.)

Another trick, that he has in store to get an extra syllable, is to insert or repeat a personal pronoun in the same line, where it is entirely superfluous. This produces the most ludicrous effect of all. When Achilles tries to reassure Calchas, he declares that none shall do the old priest harm :—

No not the greatest of regarde, not Agamemnon hee.
(I, 102.)

It is difficult to remain serious when Achilles abuses his rival :—

Thou pinching Prince, thou haughtie heart, thou loftie minded hee.
(I, 133.)

Perhaps more grotesque still is the effect when Achilles exclaims—

Thou impudent, thou iangler thou,
(I, 159.)

and a little farther on declares :—

I came not from my Countrey I, the Troians stout to scarre.
(I, 161.)

In fact, the speech of Achilles does not impress one. He seems lacking in dignity when he calls Agamemnon "thou face and dogshead thou" (I, 169). Moreover, such a manner of insult conveys an impression of weakness rather than of awe-inspiring strength. Similarly, when Juno calls Jupiter "you crabbed you" (I, 548), we are inclined to forget that we are on the solemn summit of Olympus.

Such a pronoun produces an abrupt effect when it appears suddenly in the middle of a line. This we see in VII, 191-92 :—

O mightie Ioue graunt so it doe befall,
That first of doughtie Aiax he out come the lotting ball.

On one occasion, at least, Hall makes use of this trick in such a way as to violate the most elementary rules of grammar, by employing a nominative for an accusative. Andromache, when Hector is taking leave, appeals to him :—

Haue some regarde, and call to minde the wretched creature I.
(VI, 557.)

This solecism, committed to obtain a rime with “die” in the preceding line, is on all fours with the use of a singular for a plural in I, 599, also for the sake of the rime. Vulcan has told how he was hurled by Jove from Olympus and how he fell on to the Isle of Lemnos :—

Wheras I was wel entertaide there by the Lemnos dweller.

The word “hir” in the next line explains this glaring abuse of grammatical rules. The insertion of tags and stop-gaps, the stupid repetition of pronouns, the violation of the simplest principles of the English language—no sacrifice is left unmade by Arthur Hall for the sake of his rime and metre. The result is that many lines suggest the monotonous jog-trot of a Middle English epic rather than that great body of verse, which inevitably presents itself to our minds on hearing the word “Elizabethan”. However, it must not be forgotten that at least a part of Hall’s translation was made when the author was still young in years, a scholar in the house of Burleigh. His knowledge of English versification was probably small and his skill in it even less. As he himself puts it, “he groped thereat”. These fragments were doubtless afterwards revised, but the traces of Arthur Hall’s “groping” are only too clear everywhere. It is also only fair to point out that his translation in its final form appeared in 1581, whilst most of the great work done by the Elizabethans belongs to a later period. Of Hall as a poet one cannot think very highly, for he has not the poetical genius. But even as a versifier he is only a bungling workman, and where the lines are not so feeble as to be absolutely ludicrous, they are often clumsy, stiff, and awkward. Thus Achilles exclaims—

Better than with a tyrant warre, I warre no more wil trye it.
(I, 178.)

Such verse as this makes one understand Hall's diffidence in placing his translation before the public. Whether he was fully conscious of the fact or not, it is certain that he was quite unable to give an adequate rendering of the beauties of Homer and to find in our native tongue a fitting dress for his majestic lines.

CHAPTER XVII.

ARTHUR HALL'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS GREEK LIFE.

THE power of entering into the organisation of society in remote times is a comparatively modern acquisition. With the revived interest in old literature which marked the latter half of the eighteenth century, there was awakened the desire to know more of the life and habits of long dead generations. This faculty of realising the conditions under which nations in bygone days lived and thought, this wish to understand something of their mentality, has been further developed down to our own times. In the Middle Ages and even during the Renaissance, it was almost entirely lacking. Hall's contemporaries were unable to take the mental plunge necessary to penetrate into a period and a state of civilisation so entirely unlike their own.

It is therefore hardly surprising to find that Hall like most of his countrymen anglicised the social institutions of the Homeric age. He had all the less scruple in acting thus, as his French model Salel had already to some extent made similar adaptations to modern conceptions. Apparently Hall thought the assembly of the gods to be much the same as the Court of Elizabeth at Whitehall. Jupiter figures as king and is addressed as "redoubted sire" (I, 500), whilst his divine consort is styled "noble dame" (I, 576). To the names of Pallas and Juno the title "dame" is generally prefixed, whilst Vulcan appears as "sir Vulcane" (I, 587), the same title being conferred on Neptune (IX, 8) and even on high Jove himself (VIII, 354). To the modern way of thinking, "sir Ioue" and "sir Neptune" seem somewhat curious reading.

Hall is just as liberal with his titles in speaking of the Greeks and Trojans. Here, however, we have different gradations. Their rank is, nevertheless, not always the same but subject to considerable fluctuation. At one moment we read of thousands of "Greekish Dukes" being slain; later Calchas merely refers to

them as "mightie Lordes" and farther on still, we find Ulysses addressing his "fellow-knights". "Duke Nestor" in Book II has fallen to be a "prudent knight" in Book IX. In spite of these adverse events, however, which may suddenly transform a peer into a mere knight, the position of a privileged few seems fairly secure. Amongst these is Priam, who appears with "Lordes of State" (III, 174) and is addressed as "your Grace" (III, 307). Agamemnon is also a person to be respected and is generally considered to enjoy royal rank. Diomedes, in particular, stands in great awe of him :—

he doubted for to moue the Kingly state so hie.

(IV, 432.)

Achilles, as is only natural in one so violent, is somewhat rude in his manner. He addresses his rival as "tipled Knight". Hall himself seems to have been in doubt about Agamemnon's claims to royal rank, and in IX, 182 the great Greek is styled "sir Atreus sonne". However, our author tries to make amends by putting Achilles on the same level. Thus "sir Achilles" is ranked with "sir Hector, sir Ajax, and sir Diomedé," the latter also on one occasion masquerading under the title of "Don Diomedé" (VIII, 244).

Hall appears to have imagined the armies of the Greeks and Trojans as being organised on a mediæval basis. In the ranks we have the "thousands souldiors," who are led by "valiant knights". The latter address each other as "curteous knight" or "coward knight," as the case may be. The epithets applied to them remind one of the age of chivalry. Thus we have a "worthy Knight," a "strong and valiant Knight," a "stout" or "gallant," or "doubtie Knight," a "well rynowmed Knight," a "mightie warlike Knight," a "Knight of great regarde," or "knights of valiaunt breede". The best one can say about a man is, that he is "the flowre of Knighthood," or that he "for "knighthoode bare the bell". No higher praise is possible than to say that he has performed a "peece of worthy Chialrie," and the worst reproach is to be thought "slacke in chialrie". When we read these epithets and see these "knights" proceed to battle, attended by their "squiers," we must feel that we have travelled a long way from either Greece or Troy.

If we cast a glance at the military organisation of these

armies, it will be found that this again has been brought up to date by the enterprising Hall. The Greek and Trojan "souldiours" are led by their "captaines" and "cornets," who in their turn obey the orders of their "general". They are divided into "battaillons, phalanges," or "squadrons," and proceed to the fray behind their "standards" or "ensignes". The Greek Navy is likewise modernised and the list of the different kinds of ships at the disposal of the Greeks makes a formidable array. We hear of "gallies and gallions riggde," of "barkes, brigants, hoyes, foistes, argosies, galleys," and "armed barges". What the "harnest Hulkes" (II, 695) were we may have some difficulty in conceiving, but for whom the "Adm'rall ship" (VIII, 212) was intended seems fairly obvious.

The equipment of these warriors is also passing strange. In keeping with the altered climate, they have changed their sandals for the more substantial "shoes". They strut about in "baudrickes, greues, cuyssees, curets, gorgets," and "poldrones". Their heads are protected by "morions, sculs, and sallets". With "falchon, cimyter," or "pike" in hand, they deal shrewd blows, whilst a "scarfe" seems an indispensable part of their array. Nestor appears to have been especially fortunate in possessing a garment made of the best Leominster wool. We are told how—

Fine shooes of picked leather out his foote he tieth vnder,
A scarlet mantell on he throwes, for cost to see, a wonder,
Of Lemster wooll the best it was.

(X, 121-23.)

It is, at any rate, reassuring to know that Nestor was so well provided for and not likely to catch a chill by sleeping out of doors. The beds in Homer, according to Hall, seem, however, to have been fairly comfortable. Achilles, in any case, was apparently an authority on these matters, to judge by the description of his bed in which Phoenix passed a night:—

A goodly bed they then prepare, a mattresse, linnen soft,
Behong with curtines rounde about, a couerlet fine aloft
Of woollen weaue.

(IX, 745-47.)

No wonder, then, that Phoenix "doth alone right soundly sleepe".

The cooking in the Greek camp would hardly seem to have attained the same high standard, for it is chiefly done on the "gridorne". But for this there are compensatory joys in the

shape of music. Thus we find Achilles, who at intervals "on the Viole Ditties sings," and as is only fitting for such an important personage, his viol is as "fine as fine might be" (IX, 205, 208). His rival Agamemnon, on the other hand, is no musician, and is compelled to console himself with the sounds of the "flutes and hie Hawboixe" (X, 10) which float across from the Trojan camp.

Diomedes, in his English guise, is surely somewhat too pretentious, when he bids Sthenelos take his chariot and horses to his "hall," since he was satisfied with a tent both in his Greek and French dress. But he is only on a par with Paris, whose house was of the most luxurious nature. Of this mansion we are told:—

A court it had, where Kitchin, Hal, and Chambers round do rise.

(VI, 430.)

In curious contrast to Paris lolling at his ease in this palatial building, we have the Greeks sitting on their "alebence" at Lemnos.

There are other strange things in Hall's version of Homer. We find the heralds crying "Oies" (II, 105) and the Greeks sitting down to table (II, 475). Both flora and fauna are also changed, the plane-tree being transformed into a beech (II, 340), the lotus into "wilde Smallage" (II, 810), the tamarisk into a juniper (VI, 54), whilst the chariot of Mars is drawn by "goodly Genets" (V, 391).

Like their surroundings, the Greeks and Trojans themselves have undergone a transformation. Their language is sometimes hardly to be distinguished from that of the Elizabethan Court or the Parliament at Westminster. But how can we wonder at this, when we hear of the Greeks going into committee? (II, 87). A lady is addressed as "Oh noble dame," "lady mine," or "Madame". In cases of intimacy she may be styled "sweet heart," whilst in talking to one of lower rank "my wench" can be used. A person of high rank is, of course, entitled "your Grace," whilst the upper ten amongst the Greeks are addressed as "my Lordes". Occasionally, however, a parliamentary tone is adopted as "sirs, by my reade". All these and similar expressions, whether they be "good Knighte" or "curteous knight," "sorie sir" or "sirs, my felowes al," seem somewhat out of place in the mouths of the warriors who figure in the Greek epic.

Their religious conceptions are just as anglicised as their speech. Instead of speaking of Jupiter or the gods, the ancient heroes refer to "God". This conception, so fundamentally different from that of the pagan world, breaks through everywhere. Exclamations like "for Gods sake," "on Gods name," "would to God," "thanke God," all betray the vast abyss which separates the Elizabethan from the antique mind. Similarly, when Agamemnon declares Achilles to be a man "whom God loues" (IX, 125), or when we hear the cry "God thee shield" (IX, 675), we realise that this is no longer the world of Homer. The same fact is revealed by the reference to "good king Plutoes Hall" (V, 208), which is almost always styled "Hel" pure and simple. It is difficult to restrain a smile on hearing the temple of Phœbus called a "church" (IX, 462) or on reading that the "Cleargie come" (IX, 654). But what are we to think of Nestor when he declares—

Sound friend . . . what you say, as true is as the Byble.

(X, 154.)

Hall's language is, in many cases, such that we feel it to be just as much an anachronism as this reference to the Bible by the aged Nestor. Who can possibly imagine Homer writing about Venus going "on hir maribones" (V, 383) to Mars? Or of Diomedes, that he slays the Trojans as he likes and "plays the Bug?" Who can believe that Venus would say "Diomedes hath given me the gelpe" (V, 401) or that one hero "made no bones" to do something, whilst another is forced "to stirre his stumps"? When we read of two lovers living together "as merily as Cocke and Pie" (V, 446), we must feel that this is not the language which would be used by Homer. It is Elizabethan slang and as such an anachronism.

An anachronism of a more obvious nature is apparently to be found in the words of Agamemnon to Nestor:—

Lets goe, they surely tarie vs, hard by the watch Bastile (X, 114).

The word "Bastile" is printed in special characters, and has, therefore, been taken by the printer at least to mean some particular place. It is possible that Hall gave to it the meaning of watch or tower, a signification which it could have in former times. Salel, it is true, calls it "le Fort au guet" so that it

almost seems as if Hall had deliberately made this curious mistake. We may, however, give him the benefit of the doubt in this case.

On the other hand there can be no hesitation about an expression put into the mouth of Juno. In a speech to Jupiter she asks :—

Hast thou founde out the meanes
To get a safegard for the state of Priam and Troyans ?
Do what thou canst, the time wil come, that Totnam French shal turn
The Gods and I will so prouide, but that shall serue our turne
Shal hap at all.

(IV, 33-7).

Different interpretations seem to have been laid on the phrase "Tottenham shall turn French".¹ It is used by John Heywood, who says :—

A man might espye the change in his cheekes,
Both of this poore wretch, and his wife this poore wench,
Their faces told toyes, that Tottenham was turn'd French.

Elsewhere we find the idiom used in a context which seems to point to a slightly different meaning from that suggested by the passage just quoted. In a declaration by Lady Tasburgh, dated November 18, 1605, it is stated that a Mrs. Elizabeth Vaux—a relative of a priest, who was visited at Tottenham by the notorious Robert Catesby—wrote a letter to Lady Wenman, encouraging her to hope for toleration in religious matters. "Fast and pray," she says, "that that may come to pass which wee purpose, which yf it doe, wee shall see Totnam turned French." This would appear to mean that Roman Catholicism might be as high in favour as in France. But a more general signification, such as, "a great change will take place," is not out of the question. The same holds good of a passage in a letter from Norfolk to Cromwell, to be found in the State Papers. "It is further written to me," he says, "that a bruit doth run, that I should be in the Tower of London. When I shall deserve to be there, Tottynham shall turn French." Again, Puttenham, in his *Arte of English Poesie*, explains that the proverb "Totnesse is turned French" means a strange alteration. This would indeed seem to be the original meaning, though it is evident from the other quotations that Puttenham erred in saying Totnes for Tottenham. The latter was at the time doubtless

¹ See *Notes and Queries*, Series IX, Nos. 271, 278, and Series X, No. 213.

anything but French in character, and the idea that it should become so would naturally strike the Elizabethans as "a great change, a strange alteration, an unexpected happening". It is in this light that we must regard the proverb and it will be found an adequate explanation of what Juno means, when she tells Jupiter that "Totnam French shal turn". The ludicrousness of putting these words into Juno's mouth escaped Hall entirely. It is noticed by the modern reader all the more, and at any rate serves to relieve the dead level of dullness in the rest of the translation.

CHAPTER XVIII.

IMPORTANCE OF HALL'S TRANSLATION.

SUCH occasional oddities as those dealt with in the last chapter may amuse, but Hall's work is on the whole a sorry product. Lord Burghley was reported to have said of Hall, that he had "an hereditary qualytee to make notes".¹ However, Lord Burghley was too shrewd a judge to think that Hall was especially endowed with poetic gifts. Of such inspiration there is at any rate no trace in his version, which remains a work of bibliophilic rather than æsthetic interest. Whilst Hall at rare intervals improves on Salel, he sinks for the most part far below his French model. Salel's translation was not brilliant. It marked a great improvement, it is true, on all that had been previously done in France. Still it was only a faithful and mediocre reproduction made by a worthy plodder, not lacking in taste or knowledge, but deficient in genius. Yet if Salel's version was but a reflection of Homer's immortal lines, Hall is merely the shade of a shade. The merits of his translation are few, its faults are many. Its chief interest is historical, and viewed from this standpoint its examination is not a thankless task.

Indirectly, too, we may owe much to Hall. It ought not to be forgotten that until Chapman's version appeared, Hall's was the only rendering of Homer accessible to the Elizabethan public in English. It is therefore not beyond the bounds of possibility that Shakespeare in the early part of his career made use of Hall, though it cannot be denied that he had translations in Latin and French at his disposal. On the other hand, Hall's reputation, even among his contemporaries, would appear to have been very small, as is indicated by the fact that only one edition of his translation was ever printed. This is confirmed by the silence which the Elizabethans maintain with regard to Hall, although they praise other translators. William Webb, in his

¹ See Appendix, p. 204.

Discourse of English Poetrie, London, 1586, has nothing to say about Hall. He praises people like Phaer, Googe, and Fleming for their translations, and several times mentions Homer, holding him up as "the Prince of all Poets," yet about Hall he is silent. An even more convincing testimony to Hall's slight reputation is his absence from Francis Meres' list of translators in *Palladis Tamia*, London, 1598. Hall's work had now been in circulation for seventeen years, so surely he would have figured with the rest, had he been in any way esteemed. Meres touches on the work of Phaer, Googe, Harington, Golding and others; he also knew of Dr. Johnson's "Froggefight out of Homer,"¹ and of Chapman's "inchoate Homer," but to Hall he seems a complete stranger or, what is more likely, does not consider him worth mentioning. Those who allude to Hall have but a poor opinion of him. He was doubtless the translator from the Greek meant by Ben Jonson when he said "that the translations of Homer and Virgill in long Alexandrines were prose".² The "inchoate Homer" of Chapman also refers to Hall, though not by name. In the preface to *Achilles' Shield*, published in 1598, and addressed to the Earl Marshal, Chapman says: "The chief and unanswerable mean to his (Homer's) general and just acceptance must be your Lordship's high and of all men expected precedent, without which he must, like a poor snail, pull in his English horns, that out of all other languages (in regard of the country's affection and royalties of his patrons) hath appeared like an angel from a cloud, or the world out of chaos. When no language can make comparison of him with ours, if he be worthy converted; wherein, before he should have been born so lame and defective, as the French midwife hath brought him forth, he had never made question how your Lordship would accept him."

However Chapman may sneer at Hall's "lame and defective" work, one wonders whether it may not have been just this imperfect version, which quickened in the greatest Elizabethan translator his own more comely offspring. We feel sure that Keats on reading Hall would never have felt as though some

¹ *Batrachomyomachia*, id. est. *Ranarum & murium pugna, latino versu donata ex Homero*. Christophero Ionsono, Medico Londinensi interprete, London, 1580, 4°.

² See Jonson's *Conversations with William Drummond*, ed. Laing, p. 3, and H. Wright, *Modern Language Review*, 1918, pp. 322-23.

new planet had swum into his ken. Indeed, Hall is a fitter subject for the biting satire of Pope than for the ecstatic praise of Keats. But it is possible that without Hall, poor and at times grotesque as he may be, we should have had no Chapman. For this reason and for its connection with the life of such a robust and striking personality, Hall's rendering of Homer's *Iliad* is worthy to be remembered in the great body of Elizabethan translations.

APPENDIX I.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO ARTHUR HALL'S LIFE.¹

*Will of Francis Hall, Comptroller of Calais.*²

IN the name of god so be ytt. I ffrauncis Hall, esquier, comptroller of the kinges majestes Towne and marches of Calice, beinge of good mynde and perfite memorye, do make and ordeyne this my last will and testament, wherein ffurst and above all thynges I do commytt my sowle to the mercie of almightie god whome, when ytt shall please to take me to the same out of this miserable and transitory worlde, I ordeyne, give, and bequeth unto Ursula my wif as of mere gifte and gratitude over and above suche dowers of my landes in the countie of Guysnes, in Calice, Marke or elsewhere on this side the seas, and also in Englande, as to her by order of lawe do apperteyne, the lordship of Knoke, in Wiltshire, to remayne unto her for terme of her lif.

Item, whereas I am not waxed riche by the service of the Kings Majestie last deceased and of our present mayster, as all men may well knowe, as well for dyvers other consideracons as for the basenes of the money, I do most humblie beseche the lordes of the Kings Majesties most honorable prevye counsell, in consideracon of my service, to be a meanes unto the Kings Majestie that yt will please hym of his most bountifull grace and goodnes to be good and graciouse lorde to my poore wif, my sonne, and thre daughters, and at the least, that ytt may please his highness to give the wardeship, maryage and releef of my saide sonne to my wif, with the thirde part of all suche my landes as otherwise shulde come to the Kings Majestie, during the wardeshippe and noneage of my saide sonne.

Item, I will that my saide wif shal have for the sustenance of her self and her children, till mychelmas next that the rent shal be due, of suche money, debtes and goodes that I have, the somme of fourtie poundes sterlinge. The Residue of all my clere goodes and debtes, myne owne debte paide, I will shal be devided in thre equall parts. That is to saye, one part to my wif, one to my sonne, and the thirde part to be equally devided to my thre daughters at the dayes of their maryage.

And the proufette of all the residue of my landes not appoynted to my wif I will shal be gathered and received to the behalves and proufette of my forsaide sonne and thre daughters, duringe the nonage of my saide sonne. Then he, my saide sonne, to take the whole proufette of one thirde part and th' other third part to go to the maryage of my thre daughters at the dayes of their maryage, as is before wrytten, till their said parte shall come to two hundred markes a yere. Provided alwayes that if anye of theym do fortune to dye, their parte to remayne to theym that shall lyve.

¹ The letters relating to Arthur Hall in the MSS. *Salisbury* are not reproduced here, as copious extracts from them will be found in the Calendar. Similarly the few in the MSS. *Rutland* have been left aside, as being of minor importance.

² Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, preserved at Somerset House, Register Mellershe, No. 56.

And where Dorothyee Leighton is a right honest mayden and a gentlewoman whome I do use to call doughter, not knowing what fryndes she hathe, I will that she shal have at the daye of her maryage one hundred marke out of suche dette and Revenues appoynted to my said sonne and daughters as are before rehersed.

Item, I will and bequeathe to every my servaunte one wholle yeres wayges before hande.

Item, I will to be gyven to the poore and most needy the somme of five pounce sterlinge. And all other things I will to be ordeyned at the discretion of myne executors whome I ordeyne to be my wyf and my cosyne Henrye Wyngfelde, Esquier. My bodie to be buried in Seynt Nicholas Churchyarde, beside my uncle Sir Robert Wingfelde and to be catholically, without pompe, brought to the earthe.

Item, I desyre my lorde deputie to be good lorde to my servants . . . that have served me longe, over and beside to all other my servants that hath not served me so longe.

In witness of the premysse I have desyred Mr. Henry Dudley, Mr. John Cooke, Mr. Henry Hurleston, Capteyn Bassett, Oswolde Wylkynson, and Guysnes, to sett hereunto theire handes and seales, for as moche as I my selve, beyng in the swete, dare not sett myne owne hande. Wryten at Guysnes, the xxth day of July Anno 1551.

*Sir Richard Cotton to Sir William Cecil.*¹

(From Calais, July 26, 1552.)

. . . ffor Mr. Halles matter, I have spokin with Mr. Wingfield who is his executour, and perceive that he hath but one boye of xij yeares olde,² his lands which he hath on this syde, being (as I have perfect instructyon) in valewe xlvijl. iijs. yearelie, over and besyds the house he dwells in, and 100 acres pasture ground. And as I heer by his brother who is heer, his lands that he hath in Lincolne shire, are in valewe 200 marks by the yeare after the olde rent, with one litle Lordshyp that he bought wherof he knowes not the valewe.

ffor goodes, I perceive he hathe givin his sonne none, unlesse it be a parte of his chayne, which is to be devyded betwene him and hys iij systres. ffor his lands, he hath devyded them into iij parts. One to his wife, an other parte for performance of his will, that is to saie, to ye mariage of his daughters to have so muche as shall growe thereof till ye heires come of age, and the third parte, the king to have for fynding his sonne. And this is evin the whole that I am hable to certyfyce you of. . . .

*Sir Maurice Denys to Sir William Cecil.*³

Wyth my hartie commendations unto you, gentle Mr. Cecill, this shal be t' advertise you that I have received your letter of the xxij^{de} of this present, for aunswer wherunto I have inquired of the state of Mr. Hall, late Comptroller here, and cannot perceive that he hath left any great substance to be accepted of, other than his lands which, by his testament, are to be devyded in thre parts, the fyrste to his wife, th' other towards the marryage of his daughters and the thirde part to the kings majestie, as this bearer, Mr. Wyngfelde, who presently repayryth

¹ *State Papers, Foreign, Edw. VI, Vol. 15 (Calais Papers), No. 179.*

² This statement does not quite agree with that of the jury at the inquisition held on Francis Hall's property in 1552 (cf. p. 18). But if Arthur Hall was born in the autumn of 1539, as seems to be indicated by the fact that his father's will was proved on November 25, 1560, the apparent contradiction is easily understood.

³ *State Papers, Foreign, Edw. VI, Vol. 15 (Calais Papers), No. 180.*

forthwith to the Courte, can more at large declare unto you, with also the valleeu of his lands not unknown unto you in Lyncoln shyre, and that he had here, which in tyme of peaxe are informed to be worth lij^l or ther aboute, the knowelege wherof as I have gathered to certifye you according to your expectation, so am I redye to be imployed other wyse in anye thing that lyeth in my power. And thus I praye god sende you, with good health, long lyfe with increace of honour.
from Callays the xxixth of July, 1552.

Yours assuredly,
MAURYS DENYS.

Sir Richard Cotton to Sir William Cecil.¹

Sir, I have this daie receaved your letter from Halvenaker of the xxxth of Julie, with your thanks. And this daie have also, according to your request, delivered my Lord Thresorer's letter to mistris Hall, whome, of my comming I fownde a verie hevie woman for the losse of hir husbond, and muche the hevier to understand that she should departe with² hir sonne. Nevertheles, perswading with hir (as well as I coulde) in the bringing up of him under you to hir muche comforte and his greate perfect hereafter, she at last yelded to forget hir motherlie affection some what and standis contentyd that upon my retourne, he shal be redie to comme to you, wherein you shall not nede to trouble your self in sending enie man hether for him. Over whome she is so tender that for his salver convoye, she mynds to put him in the handis of one of hir trustie servaunts to be caried, whome at my retourne I will nevertheles take with me in my government and so see unto him, as I would doo to enie sonne I have.

And if I here not contrarie wourd from you in the meanetyme, I entend, when I comme to London, to take him with me, also from thens to my house of Warblington, where, for his learning and enstruction I will see him as derelie and tendrelie lookyd unto, as enie of myne owne children. Trusting to see you there yet, before the kings majestie shall make his retourne into that Cuntrye back againe. . . .

from Callys, ye viijth of August, 1552.

RICHARD COTTON.

Ursula Hall to Sir William Cecil.³

It maye please you to understande that I have receyved a letter frome Thomas Welles, whome I have presentlye sente over unto you. By whos letter I understande that you do not only contynewe in your goodnesse styлле towards me and myne, butt allso to all suche as have of late served the kings Majestie under Mr. Haule, whiche do as it (sic!) supplie thos Romes styлле. So that my requeste ys that it will please you to be a meane unto him that shal be Comptrowler, that they may so contynewe in the same, that is, Thomas Welles, in the Rome of the clarke of Carpenters, and William Philipps, in the Rome of the Clarke Comptrowler of ye laborers, and John Benett, Clarke of the Checke of the Retynewe and Richarde Bryande, Clarke conserninge the Custome howse, whiche I ensure you arre all suche honeste men, and so mete for the Romes, as shal be harde to fynde the Lycke.

And for that I have byne charged withe the watche and warde of vij men ever syns Mr. Haule departed, as this barer, William Scelye, can further declare unto you, that it will please you to be so good unto me, that it may be consydered, whan

¹ *State Papers, Foreign, Edw. VI, Vol. 15 (Calais Papers), No. 181.*

² *I.e., part with.*

³ *State Papers, Foreign, Edw. VI, Vol. 15 (Calais Papers), No. 183.*

the Comptrowler shall have his bylle assyned for his admyttance in to the said Rome.

And thus I beseche god longe to contynewe you withe th' increase of muche honour. Frome Callis, the iith of october, 1552.

Yours moste humblie.

URSULA HALLE.

Ursula Hall to Sir William Cecil.¹

It maye please you to understande that imedyattly after the makinge of my letter sente unto you baringe date of the second of october, I receyved a letter frome my Lorde Graye, whare in he requiret to have my howse, withe suche stuffe as I have in it, and as I do further understand, eyther he hathe procured the kings Majesties moste honorable Counsell's letters for the same, or ells goithe abowte to do, wharefore this ys moste hartely to requier you, yf any suche thinge be, that you wil be an ayde unto me, that I may kepe my said howse, for that I knowe yf it goo owte of my handes, it shall faule in to utter Ruyne and Decaye, besydes the losse of suche stuffe as I have, whiche I am charged withe all.

And my only Desyer ys to kepe it in my handes to th' intente it may be kepte owte of Decaye, so that my sonne may have a howse to putt in his hedde, whan he comythe to age, whiche I fare he ys not lycke to have, yf I by any suche meanes goo frome it.

And thus, havinge no nother assystance but only you, I ame bolde trobell you with thes my letters, as knowithe god, who have you in his kepinge, with th' accomlishmente of your honorabill hartes Desyer.

Frome Callis, the thirde of october, 1552.

Yours moste humblye,

URSULA HALLE.

Ursula Hall to Sir William Cecil.²

After my most humble comendacons, wheras Thomas Welles, at his last beinge with you, declared that the Maior of Calleis was contented to finde the office of Master Halls Landes in thes partis, so it is, that nowe he delayeth the same, for that the said Lands lie in thre severall Jurisdic[cons] . . . Calleis, Guisnes and Sandgate, (. . . he saith) beinge together the bayle . . . five Jurisdiccons by no man. . . . It may therfore please you to be . . . to procure a commission to the said . . . Calleis and ye baylles of Guisnes . . . nd . . . that they may by vertue of th . . . same finde the said office withoute any further delay.

Also, wheras I understand by the said Thomas Welles that you are mynded to shewe your goodnes in procuringe that suche of Mr. Halls men as bare office under him, shall enjoie the same under the newe Comptroller, I most humbly thanke you for the same, besechinge you to contynewe that your goodnes toward them.

And thus I beseche allmightie god evermore to preserve your honorable mastership in most prosperous helthe, accordinge to his g . . . d pleasure.

ffrom Calleis, the xth of Octob. . . .

Your most humble to commaund,

URSULA HALLE.³

¹ *State Papers, Foreign, Edw. VI, Vol. 15 (Calais Papers), No. 184.*

² *Ibid.*, No. 185.

³ Endorsed xth October, 1552. The letter is somewhat mutilated.

Tailor's Bill for Clothes for Arthur Hall.(July, 1556.)¹

After details of clothes supplied to Sir William Cecil and his son Thomas comes the following:—

. . . for makyng mastar Arthur Hall a cote of gryne clothe, for a
yard of gryne to the same, for ij yards of boccrum, for sylke to
the same, for buttons to the same xij s. iiij d.
for ij spanneshe skyns to make hym a Jerkyn, for makyng, cuttyngg
and soying xiiij s. vi d.
for iiij quartars and a haulf of canvas to make hym a doblet, for
makyng the same, for canvas to the same, for sylke to the same,
for buttons to the same, for boccrum to the same vj s. iiij d.
for ij yards and haulf a quartar of clothe to make Mr. Artares cloke,
for makyng Mr. Artares cloke, for sylke to styche ytt, for haulfe
a dussin of buttons and loupes xxv s. v d.

Arthur Hall to Sir William Cecil.(Jan. 1, 1559.)²

Though wealth want which will doth wish for to supplie y^e place,
To yeld to such as justlye have deservd much in smale space,
yet lett I not dispayre take holde, but to that ende do flye
To fynde some shift that of a gift, the place itt maye supplie
which though unworthy much it be, I trust as itt is mente
yowill thinke on the Macedon gift which to a kinge was sente,
yet this much lesse, for he the frute had of a forreyn tre,
youe but your owne which youe did grafte shall here receive of me;
wherefore, seke means health to mayntayne, that Brutes maye vaunt and saye,
The³ norish theyr foes a ruine to them, and to them selves a staye,
ffor in short tyme men had such hope, your years as then not hore,
they thought they could not fynde nor found have your feer of yore;
your time therefore guyde in such sort that god be chieflye servd,
wherof youe have alwayes had a care, and he hath yow preservd.
To fratteringe tonges gyve youe no eare, but lett them fall them selve
In to the pitt which wretchedlye for others theye do delve.
If riches floo as youe wold wishe, as trifles them to take,
As thinges to serve your wordlye⁴ use, no gods of them to make.
The poore mans sute do not putt of, soner graunt his request
And god the patrone of them all shall graunt youe joye and rest.
for losse of freands wayle not to much, though some right deare departs,
for he in whome is wisdomes seate can wante no freandlye hartes.
rejoyse not at your ennemyes fall, nor laught (sic!) not att his losse,
ffor we are forme de even for the same, whome wordlye cares do tosse.
In health or wealth be not to proude, for god that sends the same
will oft and sone sende grieve agayne, our fayth more fyrme to frame.

¹ *State Papers, Domestic, Mary*, Vol. 9, No. 20.² *Ibid.*, *Eliz.*, Vol. 2, No. 1.³ Evidently a mistake for "they".⁴ This form is repeated six lines further on. It may possibly be a dialectal form, for examples without "l" are to be found in modern English dialects. See J. Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary*, Oxford, 1898-1905, Vol. VI, p. 383.

By this I wold be loth be though (sic!), the Greyhound his rate to teach,
 Or els presume precepts to sett, the hare her turns to fetch,
 ffor well youe knowe the proverbe sayeth, nede hath no lawe in ought,
 For I, if I gifts did possesse nolde gyve this thinge of nought.
 But hope I have, and youe are wont t' accept in full good parte
 Alwayes that thinge which doth procede from any willing harte.
 wherfore, desyering longe your health, I nowe do make an ende,
 Beseeching God with vertues all eke honors youe to sende.

This my simple gift (right honorable syre) offered with this boldnes, I trust
 your honour will take in good parte, as of one who desiers god to sende youe a
 good and prosperous newe yeare; beseeching your accustomed goodnes to scann
 nothing to the worst, if any thinge be overslyppt, for though I have written these
 fewe lyns, I knowe your wisdom can better consyder the same then I am able to
 thinke onn. Wherfor, trusting to your gentlenes, I do perswade my selfe youe will
 accept this my simple gift and the rudenes therof, which shall cause me rejoyse at
 my good happ.

By your most obedient
 pupill and servaunt
 ART. HALL.

[Endorsed in Cecil's handwriting, "Arth. Hall".]

*Arthur Hall to Sir William Cecil.*¹

I yeld according to my bounden dutye most humble thankes unto your Honour
 for your manifold goodnes shewed unto me and that at my last being with youe as
 well as alwayes heretofore, beseeching your honour not to take in evyll part my
 hasty returne, which I wold not for any thing have done, if I had not greatly feared
 my credytours, of whome, for lakke of satisfying of them, I stand so in doubt as I
 am not sure in mine owne house.

Mye case, as I told your honour, is so myserable as I feare not, god is my
 judge, of any thing, and yet if I had bene well used, I should have had no such
 cause. For though my debte be great, yet if I had had freands, I might not onely
 ere this have answered every body without wondring, but have bene able to lyve
 with my neighbours, as yet I hope I shall, though in the meane tyme my case is
 not common.

I besech your honour for gods sake that this my often troubling of youe may
 not be tedyous and that youe will not be wery therof, for where a man hath but
 one legg, that one doth bear the whole stey of the bodye. So I ensure your honour,
 if I had ever a freand, who would but a lyttle seake to ease my mysery and not to
 spoyle me, as I feare some do, I wold not be so tedyous to youe. But nede hath
 no lawe, and so I most humbly besech youe to thinke.

Before my cousyn Wingfield, my uncle and I talked, who gave fayre words and
 promises sylver hylls in my behalfe in taking payne for me. But he hath so done
 so oft and yelded then smale, as I feare the tyme be past by I shall understand the
 same.

Syr, ther is one Anthonye Rudley, brother to him who ones was your honours
 man, who hath a piece of lande in Herrebye,² and yt is out for xi yeares in lease.
 His mother hath state therin during her lyfe. Yt wold be very commodious and
 profytable for me, which he knowinge solde yt unresonable. Where for, if your
 honour wold be so good maister unto me as to commaund Mr. Wyndbancke³ to

¹ MSS. Lansdowne, Vol. 7, No. 76.

² Harrowby near Grantham.

³ Sir Thomas Windebank, a Lincolnshire man, travelled with Thomas Cecil in
 France and Germany in 1561 and 1562. On his return he was made clerk of the
 signet, and sometimes acted as clerk of the Privy Council.

wryte a letter to his mother and him joyntly together, that therby I might the soner obteyne the sesinge of his sayde lande, ether for monye or for other lande as good or better in an other place, youe should heape coles on a poore mans heade, whose service shal be redye to the uttermost, (though abylyte faile) to recompense some part therof.

Beseching god to prosper your honour in all things and at all tymes, as I shall praye for the same, from Grantham the 4 of marche, 1563.

Your most humble servaunt to commaund,

ARTHUR HALL.

Charges against Hall's father-in-law, Thomas Dewie.¹

Articles to [be] ministred against Thomas Dewy, goldsmyth, dwelling in ffoster lane, in London.

In primis, that Mr. John Hardyman, Archedecon of Westminster, understanding not onlie by reporte of others, but also by his owne knowledg that dyvers the victuallers, within the liberties of St. Martens le graund, did and doe use to kepe open ther howses on sondaies and hollydaies in the tyme of divine service, and also use dysing, carding and other unlawfull games, to ill exemple, not onlie of others ther inhabiting, butt allso to the scandre of the said libertie and the hedds and ministers therof, ffor reformacon therof did direct forth process in dew order of law, to cite all and singular the said victuallers to appere before hym to awnswere personallie unto certeyn articles to be ministred to them, concernyng ther said mysdedes.

2. Item, that the said citacon, ffor the dewe execucon therof, was deliverd unto the cunstable or officer in that behalf auctorized, who did dewlie execute the same, and att the daie and place of the retorn therof, did by vertue of his othe taken in the opou corte, make certificat apon the same execucon.

3. Item, that the said parties so cited, being aponlie caled, and being to nombre of xix persons, not half of them did appere. Whereapon, Mr. Archedecon, perceiving his good porpose and intent so to be frustrate and of porpose diluded, did award processe to command them to appere personalie before hym on saturday then next following, being the vijth daie of this moneth of marche, ther to show cause, yf they hadd anie, whie they should not be declared ffor contemptions (?) of the corte and the Jurisdiction therof, and further, punyshed for the manifest disobedience in that behalf.

4. Item, that the said vijth daie of Marche, the forsaid Mr. Archedecon sytting judiciale in St. Leonards church, being within the Jurisdiction afforesaid, the afforsaid last citacon was by the officer afforsaid dewlie according too the order of law certified, and the names of the persons cited oponlie cauled and perconizat.

5. Item, that then ymmediatlie cam Thomas Dewy, goldsmyth, dwelling in ffoster lane, boldlie with his capp on his hedd and beating his fyste on the table, and said unto the registre then taking the names of the apparaunts, "Yow kepe here a powling corte, and I will prove yt, and my name is Thomas Dewy, and yf you will know wher I dwell, putt your hedd thorough the wall, and yow shall see."

6. Item, that Mr. Archedecon, hearing the said wordes and consydering them to be spoken unadvisedlie, said unto hym:—"Sir, what have yow to doo? We sentt not for you." To whome the said Thomas Dewy facyng hym and having his capp on his hedd, said, "I will have to doo here and I will make yow ashamed of your doings, ffor yow kepe here a powling corte, and I will justifie yt to your face."

7. Item, that then Mr. Archedecon, perceyving hym so to rage, said unto hym, "I command yow in the quenes majesties names [*sic* /] that yow departe owte of the corte and that yow trouble ne molest us anie further as yow will make awnswere to the contrarie."

¹ *State Papers, Domestic, Eliz.*, Vol. 16, No. 39.

8. Item, that the said Thomas Dewy, not regarding the commandement of the said Mr. Archedecon, but setting the same at naught, said thes words or like in effect:—"I wil be here spite of thy tethe." Wherwith the said archedecon did rise from the seate of Judgment and willed and commanded hym eftesons in the quenes majesties name to departe quietlie owte of the corte. Who, still contynuyng in his mischiff and not regarding, but manifestlie contempning the said commandment, stowtlye made awnswere that he hadd more to do ther, for that he was of that parishe, then Mr. archedeacon hadd, saing unto hym, "Yf thou werte owte of the church, I wold breake thy hedd."

9. Item, that then Mr. archedecon, perceyving the yll spirite so to vexe hym and fearing lest further myschiff wold have ensued, yf that he hadd multiplied anie talke with hym, went owte of the quire into the bodie of the church, thinking so to have departed. But the said Thomas Dewye persued and came after hym. And Mr. Archedecon, thinking (as justlie he myght) that he hadd followed hym owte of the church to accomplishe his develishe porpose afforsaid, wherwithall he had treptened [*sic* !] hym, stepped back againe into the quire, and closed fast together the quiredores, thinking to have excluded hym fro thens.

10. Item, that the said Thomas Dewy, not yet contented, but heaping mischiff apon myschiff and of likelyodd mynding some further ungodlie practise, did fearselie pushe opon the quire dores againe, and cam unto the table which stode before Mr. archedecon, being the table that the registre useth to write the actes of the corte apon, and pulled the same table a waie, saying that he shold not sytt ther, nor kepe anie corte ther, do what he wold or cold.

11. Item, then Mr. Archedecon, weying and considering the premisses and justlie fearing a further myschiff, was of force constrainyd to departe his waie, leving the corte and other matters afforsaid unspedd and ended.

*Arthur Hall to Sir William Cecil.*¹

As one in any distresse of fortune the delyveraunce from the same can not be but very welcome, so I here out of my Countrey, with desyre of returne, do thinke my selfe not a lyttle revided (*sic* !) and happi by the receipt of your honours letters, for the which I yeld most humble thanks, being the apple I have to present Alexander with. At the delyvery of your letters to the French Embassadoure I found him very redye to pleasure me in all he could and so hath contynued, traveling with Marco Antonio Barbaro, the Venetian Bailole,² who presently goes to Constantinople and the old retournes; which sayed Bailole hath answerd that he is willing to do what he can for his sake, but first that he must speake with the duke and signuery to let them understand the same, because I being an Englishman, he doubtles some quarell might be made. But by the Embassadors means and Mr. Bagusme's, who not a lyttle furthers my suyte and is diligent therin, I shall assuredly optaine the same, so that within six or seven dayes at the furthest I hope we shall go forward.

Presuming upon your honours goodnes, I humbly besech youe to wryte thanks to Mr. James Bagusme at whose hands for your sake I have received much curtesye. Neverthelesse I have not stred him any waye, nor meane hereafter. This suyte is the last I shall request of your honour, hoping in god that the next newes youe shall here of me shal be my selfe humbly yelding thanks for your favour towarde me.

I retourned from Naples to this towne the tenth of the last month. I received your honours letters the 28th of the same. I have sene Ferrare and the duke

¹ *State Papers, Foreign, Eliz.*, Vol. 101, folios 16-18.

² Italian *bailo*, title of the Venetian Resident at the Ottoman Porte. For "Barbaro" see pp. 44-45.

Alphonse Court,¹ one for his governaunce not onely beloved of his owne, but honour of others. From thence taking downe to the seawarde, I passed Faensa (wher nowe all things are quiett) forbye Secengnia,² Rimini and Pesaro Cytes, wher at Pesaro the duke of Urbine Guido Ulaldo the seconde³ kepes his Court, a man favored of all men, whose revenue being smale can make no great shewe as his Court declares. So passing dyverse smale townes and heard mountains to Nochera,⁴ Ffolinga,⁵ Spoletum,⁶ Terni, Nerni,⁷ Cytes standing in the heard mountains, saving in some places some feue valleys, all the Popes Countrey.

At last I entred into the uninhabited Campania of Rome, wher in six or seven skore miles compase is not almost one house, yet very frutfull for corne, in the midst wherof Rome stands, shewing yt selfe for the desolation therof a fytt brotch to sett in such a capp. For yt maye wel be readd and understode by bookes that Rome hath bene well inhabited, fayre builded and great, but I see not the same. Some old ruines remayne, some fallen, some falling, and all loke as they would shortly fall. Many pillers remaine of Purferey and marble in diverse places, both mervelous great and fayre, which accepted I see nothing praise worthye, and if they would have bene sent into England with wisshes, your honour should have had some of them for a token, for I am sure youe would esteeme them great Jewels, as they are well worthy.

The Pope Pius quintus⁸ kepes no Court to any purpose, wherfore all the gentlemen almost are gone from Rome, in so much as in every streat many houses are voyde, wherfore the Romans crye out of him. He is of the age of sixty fyve yeares, tale and lene, but he seameth much more. His devotione is thought to be great because he is diligent in comming to church and in stablysing of Religion.

The Curtesanes of Rome he hath confyned into a corner by them selves uppon paine that they go not abrode, and also the Jewes he hath appoynted to theyr places, which they kepe onelesse in the daye tyme.⁹

Certeayne of his owne nepheues he hath greatly preferd. One being a begging fryer and not fytt for any other occupation he hath gyven his hatt to, and made him Cardinale of Alexandrine as he him selfe was. An other being bought a slave out of the Turkes Galleys, and one of his ears cutt of, is greatly advaunced. A thyrd being a kidd killer, openly to sell them, is no lesse preferd: and by my judgment they are fyttier to go to theyr old occupations then to execute the place of theyr newe callinges.

Ffor Paulus quartus¹⁰ sake who made him Cardinale, he hath pronounced

¹ Alfonso II, under whom the glory of Ferrara reached its highest point. He was a great patron of the arts and sciences, both Tasso and Guarini being protected by him.

² Cesena.

³ Guidobaldo II, belonged to the Della Rovere family and was a great patron of the ceramic art. Died 1574.

⁴ Nocera.

⁵ Foligno.

⁶ Spoleto.

⁷ Narni.

⁸ Born 1504, pope from 1566-72. As a monk he was extremely austere and active in repressing heresy; as grand inquisitor, he made his name a terror; on becoming enthroned, this rigour was continued as is confirmed by Hall's references to him. He would have no compromise with the Protestants. He desired to invade England and dethrone Elizabeth whom he excommunicated.

⁹ In March 1569, Pius expelled the Jews from the states of the Church. They were permitted, on very hard conditions, to remain at Rome for commercial reasons.

¹⁰ Paul IV, Giovanni Pietro Caraffa, pope from 1555-59. A Neapolitan by birth, he was for a time nuncio in England and Spain; founded the Theatine order and helped to set up the Inquisition and the censorship. By his severe demands, he prevented any return of England to the Church of Rome. He was extremely strict and unpopular with the Romans.

Cardinale Caraffa,¹ justified by his predecessour Pius quartus,² unjustly executed, and hath made one of that house Cardinale, a tale, handsome yong gentleman.

At Rome I found dyverse Englishmen, one Mr. Goldwell,³ late Bishopp of S. Asaphe, who used me curteously, but the rest, being to the nombre of 14 or 16 in Rome, the most being in a hospitale, so called ther, as sone as I was come, reported me an hereticke, which is but semely jesting at Rome, and to make such byrds good there, the Pope hath built a newe whytt house, not furr from St. Peters church, which is called the inquisition house.

Of these my good countreymen I maye not condemne all, for ther is one Mr. Georg Nevel,⁴ syr Henry Nevells brother, that delt freandly with me, and misliked theyr evill using of me. Likewise ther is one doctour Knott⁵ and one or two more who seame honeste then the rest. Hearing theyr repourtes by a freand of myne, (as I maye saye) tho I never kneue him before, I purposed at my comming from Naples to loke well to my selfe, from whense when I cam, I went unto them, merveling as I told them, they would so rashly judg. Ther answer was that they had

¹ Carlo Caraffa, born 1517, nephew of Paul IV, as cardinal played a great part in papal policy, especially during the unfortunate war against Philip II of Spain; executed by Pius IV in 1561.

² Pope from 1559-65; a milder ruler than his predecessor but showed no mercy to the Caraffas; reversed the anti-Spanish policy of Paul IV.

³ Thomas Goldwell, died 1585. He refused to accept the religious changes made by Henry VIII. With Reginald Pole, whose chaplain he was, Goldwell remained in exile until the authority of the Pope was recognised in England. In 1538 he was appointed to the office of *camerarius* at the English hospital at Rome. In 1547 he became a novice and in 1550 a member of the Theatine order at Naples. On the accession of Mary, Goldwell accompanied Pole to England, and in 1555 he became Bishop of St. Asaph. Here he revived the habit of making pilgrimages to St. Winifred's Well at Holywell in Flintshire. It was intended to make Goldwell bishop of Oxford and to send him as ambassador to Rome, but the death of Mary prevented this. In spite of the strict watch kept at the ports, he managed to escape to Italy, where he was afterwards one of the most prominent of the English catholic exiles. In 1561 he was made superior of the Theatine convent at Naples, and at the Council of Trent, he was the only English bishop present. He was also made warden of the English hospital at Rome. He died in 1585 and was buried in his convent. He was the last of the old English bishops who recognised the papal authority. (See article by T. F. Tout in *D.N.B.*, XXII, 97-99.)

⁴ Ralph Lacy, in August 1562, in his confession stated that he had often been with "Mr. George Nevell, brother to Sir Henry Nevell" at Rome (*Cal. State Papers, Foreign, Eliz.*, 1562, p. 203). This may be the same "Georgius Nevellus" who is mentioned as having matriculated at the college of Douai on April 1, 1605 (*Records of the English Catholics under the Penal Laws*, I, 285), or some relation.

⁵ In a list of English exiles about the year 1575, contained in *State Papers, Domestic, Eliz.*, Vol. 105, No. 10, is mentioned the Countess of Northumberland, who lived at Brussels, and we are told that "Doctour Knott is her chiefe counsellour" (*Records of the English Catholics, etc.*, Vol. I, p. 298). On April 23, 1580, Knott was at Douai, for the diary of the English college there states with reference to this month and year "23^o die Parisiis ad nos venit Dominus Knottus J. U. doctor, qui nobiscum per biduum commoratus discessit" (*ibid.*, I, 164).

In a letter from Sir Francis Englefield from Madrid to Dr. William Allen on September 4, 1581, Mr. D. Knott is mentioned as a pensioner of the King of Spain, and Dr. Allen writing from Reims early in 1584 (?) refers to a Mr. Knots (*ibid.*, II, 105, 220).

had letters of my comming to Rome, long before I did, and therfore demed the worse because I had not bene with them. In fyne, being bydd to dinner amonge them, no talke with some of them but of the Quenes Majestye and of the Governement in England, with to much unreverence for Englishmen, whose mouthes neverthelesse I sone stopped. But they that will not sticke to such as I was to speake theyr pleasures, will make no bones to lye at large to strangers. And so I am sure they have, for they, or such like merchaunts, (but sure they are the Chiefe) have raysed such reportes of the Quenes Majestye, and thes as I my selfe could not but be sorrye to heare them, if I knewe not the contrarye. Their names with the matters were to longe to write, but at my retourne your honour shall understand the whole.

I feare I shal be to long in these my letters, but because of your commaundement to contynue my wryting, I hope the reading hereof shall not be tedious.

In the pleasaunt and commodious sited towne of Naples I sawe no such beuty as I thought I should have done, and I can commend nothing therof but the situation. And being ther on Corpus Christi daye, I sawe to the number of 4 or 5 houndred gentlemen so well horsd as it is harde to see the like.

In all parts of the kingdome, ther is such robbing as no man may traveile but in strong Companye. At my comming thense, if by an extraordinary (*sic*!) occasion God had not kept me, I had bene evill troubled, for in that after nowne, not a myle before me, was (*sic*!) two Companyes robd.

Ther is great watch for Spanyerds that they come not out of the kingdome, nor out of Sicilia, nor from the Goleta¹ without licence, for they runn awaye every daye.

At my retourne to Rome I heard the first newes of the death of the two Counts of Egmount and Horne,² which was so taken of the papistes them selves, as they cryed out shame of king Phillip and the duke, and such as were well willers of his prosperite wishe him all the mischief they maye, and not onely in most partes of Italy, but in very Rome.

I retourned from Rome by Tuscanes and so by Viterbo, by Mountfiascon,³ Aquapondete,⁴ Cytes, and Siena, nowe the duke Francescoes of Florence⁵ with

¹ Goletta, town on the gulf of Tunis, a little south of the ruins of Carthage. It was taken by the Spaniards in 1535 and turned into a strong fortress. The Turks regained possession in 1574.

² Philip II of Montmorency-Nivelle, Count Hoorn and Lamoral, Count Egmont, were executed at Brussels on June 5, 1568, by order of the Duke of Alva, representative in the Netherlands of Philip II of Spain. They had been amongst the leaders of the movement against the Spanish dominion but had afterwards withdrawn from the more extreme section. It was Alva's cruelty which led to the revolt of the Low Countries against the Spanish power.

³ Montefiascone.

⁴ Aquapendente. Cf. Wordsworth's *Musings near Aquapendente* in April 1837.

⁵ The Duke of Florence in 1568 was Cosimo I de Medici, born in 1519, who died in 1574, six years after Hall's visit. His rule was harsh in order to repress any attempt at rebellion against his authority. He attacked Siena, an old enemy of Florence and obnoxious to Cosimo on account of its free institutions. In 1555 Siena was obliged to surrender and the republic was now incorporated with the duchy of Florence. Though not a Maecenas, Cosimo restored the university of Pisa and enlarged that of Siena. In 1564 he resigned the government to his eldest son Francesco I, and this explains Hall's reference to the Duke Francesco in 1568. The latter reigned on his own account from 1574 to 1587. He was too submissive to Philip II of Spain whom he supplied with money, wrung from his overtaxed

the Countrey; a very fayre cite, but the dukes tyranny so kepes the inhabitants under, as yt semeth a thing without life, for they are skarse able to lyve, they paye him such monstrous gabelles for every thing.

So I cam to Fflorence a towne for beutye comparable with the fayrest I have sene in Italy, and to be preferd before any, Venyce except. Yt standeth in a corner so well inhabited, as I have not sene the like. But the dukes governaunce is such as the Florentines curse him, strangers raile of him, and no one can found him a good worde. Such serching comming into the towne, as he seames to feare fyer brought in to bourne his cite, and going out, lest men steale the towne with them.¹ At Florence remains don Garceio de Toledo, late Visceroye of Sicilia, who hath faunced his daughter with the dukes yonger sonne.²

By Bologna the Popes, a great fayre Cyte, I came to Ferrare, to Padoa, and so to Venyce.

The Turkes armata the Venetians this yeare have bene afreyed of more then ones, and therefore have armed and unarmed twice or thrise. The Turke hath done nothing this sommer, but kept the seas and sent certeyne galleys to Alexandria, which orderly every yeare he doth, at the retourne of the which to the rest of his armye, which is in the whole, as yt is sayed, 130 Galleys, he is come to Corfue³ and somewhat forwarder, and hath great store of horses a bourde with him. Wherefore yt is thought he will land and spoile in Calabria or Apulia; some thinke he will land about Ancona.

The Venetians hearing still of his comming forward, for feare of the worst, with some hast the firste of this month, have payed and waged certeyne souldiours, and the fiftenth of the same do send to the sea theyr Generall with thyrty galleys, and are making redye fortye more to go after him, as they shall have nede.⁴ They are a state much envyed here in Italy.

Syr Henry Lea about the 19 of this last month cam hether to Venyce wher he remains, one who thinks him selfe not a lyttle beholding to your honour. I my selfe am bound therto, being redye to serve youe in what I maye, as willingly as any servant youe have. Beseeching god to prosper your honour in all your dealings, from Venyce this 7th of August, 1568,

Your honours most assured to commaund

ARTHUR HALL.

*Sir Henry Lea to Sir William Cecil.*⁵

. . . And thes weakes past I heald my hande from wryting for that I knewe the place was supplied by an other, by one that accomteath him sealf moste bound unto you, wher by your former fawoyre may appeare well bestoed. I mene master Halle, who att thys tyme standeath apon his departure, whos well doying and short retorne I hartely wysshe, for that he apperath bothe to be of a very good

people. His rule was not beneficial, and the only thing to be said in his favour is that he was a lover of science and letters.

¹ Compare this testimony of Hall's as to Francesco's misrule with the account given on p. 43.

² Piero dei Medici, Francesco's brother, married Eleonora of Toledo. He afterwards murdered her because she had betrayed him.

³ In 1386 Corfu had placed itself under the protection of Venice and in 1401 was formally annexed to the Venetian Republic. Corfu remained in Venetian hands until 1797.

⁴ Some three years after Hall's letter was written, the Venetians played a prominent part in crushing the Turks at Lepanto.

⁵ *State Papers, Foreign, Eliz.*, Vol. 101, fol. 89.

natur, and not ingnorant. The beste mence for his Jorne he hathe myste, for that the umbassoter whych went from thys statte wold by no mence admyte any stranger in to his compene. . . . From Venys, the xxi of August [1568].

Your bounde and assured to command

HENRY LEE.

*Arthur Hall to the House of Commons.*¹

To the Parliament house, the seventh of February, 1575.

Right honorable and worshipful, my duty most humbly remembered toward you al, I am right sory, being a member of you, who have bent my poore good will towarde the service of my country among you in all trouth and plainenesse, that upon opinion conceived of me, otherwise than I have given cause in knowledge of my selfe, you have proceeded against me as a stranger, and not with that favour as a member of such a body might in good equitie have looked for, which hath forced me, to my great discontentation to withdraw my self till a time of better favour, assuring your honors and worships al, that if my cause had bin heard and judged in a ful courte, in the presence of the chiefe of the committees, who were absent, I should have abidden your uttermost sentence even to the losse of al that I had. Had I understande that every smal error of mine is made an heynous offence, as the exception against certain of the committees, for want of their good wils towards me, is accompted a derogation to the auctoritie of the house, and much impayring to their worships and credite, an exposition truly very harde, and in trouth contrary to my meaning.

And wheras by the entreaty for the delivery of my man, I am growen in suspition among you and by some in apparant speeches made pertaker of his fraude, what so ever is conceived of me, I assure you al it is without cause, as both my offer may wel declare before I moved the house for his priviledge, which was a hundred pound, wherof are the witnesses master Justice Harper and Manhoode, as wel is knowne to Master Sergeant Lovelace, as also my willingnesse since, to submit my selfe to your orders for the parties satisfaction.

Of absenting my selfe, I pray you consider no otherwise than as of one who is much greeved of your offence conceived of him, and as one that can not endure the continual herd speeches brought to mine eares, much sounding to my discredite, as also to see the imprisonment of my servauntes, for whose liberties I would have bin contented too have paide so deare.

I might justly have looked for some consideration in respect of the great injurie offred too my name and credit, whereof the quarel first grew, as on the other side, for a blow given without my knowledge, god is my judge, sore against my will.

But in al I submit my selfe to your honors wisdomes, as one who is most desirous of your good opinions and favours, and wish you good successe in al honorable proceedings. Written this seventh of Februarie 1575.

Your honours and worships to commaund

ARTHUR HALL.

*Will of Margery Dewie.*²

In the name of God, Amen! The eleventhe daye of ffebruarie in the yeare of oure lorde god, accordinge to the corse and computtacon of the churche of England, one Thousand five hundred threescore and eithtene and in the twentieth yere

¹ From Hall's *Letter sent by F. A.* Cf. pp. 64, 70, 188.

² Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Register Bakon, No. 11, at Somerset House. Proved at London, February 23, 1578.

of the Reigne of oure sovereigne ladie Elizabeth, by the grace of god Quene of England, fraunce and Ireland, defender of the faith, etc. I, Margery Dewye of the parishe of St. Leonardes in Foster Lane in London, late the wife of Thomas Dewye, Citezen and goldsmith of London, deceased, beinge sicke in bodie but of good and perfecte minde and Remembraunce, lawde and prayse be unto almightie god, mindinge to put and establishe an order as well of all my moneable goodes, Chattells, debts, plate and Jewells, whiche god hath endued me withall in this my presente life, as also of, in, and upon all and singuler my landes, Tenements and hereditaments, with all and singuler their appurtenances, situate, lyeing and being in the saide parishe of St. Leonarde, do make and ordeine this my laste will and testament in forme following, that is to saye, and ffirst and principallie, I comend my soule unto almightie god, my Creator and Redemer, most humblie beseching the blessed Trinitie to have mercie one my soule and to pardon and forgive me my greves sinnes and offences, so that after this mutall worlde and transitorie life, I maye arise accordinge to my hope and faithe in Jesus Christe.

My bodie I comitt to the earth, to be buried within the parishe Church of St. Leonardes aforesaide, as nighe unto the place where my saide late husband lyeth buried as convenientlie maie be.

Item, I give and bequeth unto Marie Hall, my daughter, the nowe wief of Arthur Hall, Esquier, and unto her heires and Assignes for ever, all those my saide landes, Tenements and hereditaments with all and singuler their appurtenances, situate and beinge in the parishe of St. Leonardes aforesaide, to have and to houlde the same, unto the saide Marie my daughter and to her heires and assignes for ever, to th' onlie proper use and behouf of the same Marie and of her heires and assignes for ever.

Item, I give and bequethe unto John Stanywell, my brother, tenn poundes of lawfull mony of England and unto Elizabeth, his daughter, ffive poundes of like money.

Item, I give and bequethe unto Margery Clarke, my kyncsewoman, twentie shillings.

Item, I give unto loving freende Henrie Gilbert, goldsmith, a hous pot of silver and gilt, wayinge by estimacon . . . [blank].

Item, I give unto Mistres Payman, my late tenante, twentie shillings, to Darckis Moncke ffortie shillings and a blacke gowne, unto my twoo maide servauntes blacke gownes. . . .¹

Item, I give unto sixe poore women gownes of a noble or eighte shillings the yarde, as it shall please my saide daughter, and my will and minde is, that there shal be a dynner made for my loving frendes on the daie of my buriall, accordinge to the good discrecon of my saide daughter. The Residue of all my goodes, chattels and substance. . . .² I wholie and freelie give unto my said daughter Mary and unto Ursula Hall her daughter, whome I make and ordeine my sole and onlie executors, willing and requiring my saide daughter Marie, as she will aunswere before god at the daie of Judgment, that her saide daughter Ursula have her juste parte of my saide goodes. . . .

*Arthur Hall to Lord Burghley.*³

Yesterday, comming from your Lordship, I mett with Mr. Sackforde of whom I understode your Lordship requyerd my suyte in artycels which I have to her

¹ A passage follows providing for the release of Henry Spilman, draper, from his debts.

² After all debts are paid and the dispositions of the will carried out.

³ MSS. Lansdowne, Vol. 27, No. 79.

Majestie; according to the same, I am bold to inclose them herein. If your Lordships greate favour to me do let me receave at her Majestyes hande (for wythout youe, I loke not for yt) that smale benefytt by the which I maye thinke my selfe but mynded of her highnes, (which tho I have not, I am readye to deserve) I wyll humbly thanke your Lordship as I alwayes saye, and els I have nothing. If no scrapes of her highnes great liberale bestowed fare wyll lyght on me, my fortune is onely the cause. I presume thus to wryte to your Lordship, for I have conceived of that I could gather when I attended youe, that rather a fewe lynes in wryting contented youe then manye speeches, and trulye I can not intrude my selfe to offend anye, much lesse such as I owe dutye to, and suytors be troblesome. Ever, my Lord, in the end of my presuming letters, a¹ trouble your Lordship with a suyte, but nowe I terme yt yll. As I told your Lordship yesterdaye, Mr. Monsone² hath used me extreamey and he perhapp wyll saye the fault is myne, but I can not beare his bad dealings. I ment to prefferr my supplication to her Majestye touching him at this instant, but that yt should not be sayed yt was a match made betwene Mr. Sentpaule³ and me. I humbly besech that of your Lordship, which for equyte sake I knowe your Lordship doth graunt to the worst, that when y^e matter comes ether before the Consell borde or otherwyse to be harde, which presently, if I maye, I wyll procure, not to condemne my proceedings without just cause, wherin I request no judge but your Lordship selfe. My Lord, commaund me when pleaseth youe and when youe so do, in all actiones youe shall fynd me no lyare. To offer to youe more then I have in my powre is folly: employe what is in me, I am at your Lordships dyrection.

Wyngfeld House the 11 of februarye, 1578,

Your Lordships as it shall please youe,

ARTHUR HALL.

*Account of the Charges brought against Arthur Hall in 1581, and of the Sentence passed on him by Parliament.*⁴

Where yt was informed unto this howse, upon Saterdaye, being the fowrth daye of this present februarie that Arthure Hall of Grantham in the Cownty of Lincoln, Esquyre, had sythence the laste Session of this parliament made, sett foorth in prynte, and published a booke dedicated unto Sir Henry Knyvett, knyght, a good member of this howse, withowt his pryvetie, lykeng, or allowance, in parte greatlye tendyng to the sclauder and reproche not onelye of Sir Roberte Bell, knight, deceased, late Speaker of this parliament, and of sondrye the particuler members of this howse, But also of the proceedings of this howse in the same laste Session of parliament, in a cause that concerned the said Arthure Hall and one Smalley his man, And that there was also conteyned therein a longe discourse tendyng to the

¹ Evidently meant for "I."

² This must have been Sir John Monson, Knight, of South Carlton, Lincs. High Sheriff of Co. Lincoln in 1577, he was aged 37 in 1583, knighted at Greenwich on June 24, 1586, and died on December 20, 1593. He was buried at South Carlton on January 12, 1594. His was an old and influential family. A daughter of his, Katharine, married Sir Edward Griffin of Dingley, Co. Northampton, in December 1599. This is not without interest, as the first wife of Cecil Hall, eldest son to Arthur Hall, was also a Griffin. They were married on January 27, 1600 (*cf. Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, ed. Maddison, *Harl. Soc.*, LI, pp. 680-84).

³ He is several times mentioned in the *Letter* as Mr. Thomas Saint or Sent Poole. He sided with Hall very warmly in Parliament.

⁴ *MSS. Lansdowne*, Vol. 31, No. 20.

dymynishment of the Auntyent Authortie of this howse, and that thereupon by order of this howse, the said Arthure Hall was sent for by the Sergeant of this howse to appere on Monday folowenge, whiche he did accordinglye.

Whereupon, being called to the bar and charged by the Speaker with the Informacon gyven againste hym, he confessed the makynge and setting forth the thereof.

Whereupon, the said Arthure Hall being sequestred, the howse did presently appoynt dyvers comyttees to take a more particler examynacon of the said cause, and of all suche as had been doers therein.

Whiche Examynacon being fynyshe by the said Comyttees, they informed this howse that they had chardged the saide Arthure Hall with contempte againste this howse, the saide laste Session, in that, beinge Injoynd by this howse to appere there at a tyme by this howse prefixed, he departed owte of the Towne in contempte of the Courte, and afterwards testyfyed and inforced the same his wilfull contempte by an unsemely letter addressed by hym to this howse, And chardged hym also with publyshenge the conferences of this howse abroade owte of the howse, and that also in prynte, in maner of a lybell with a counterfett name of the Authour, And withoute any name of the Prynter.

In whiche booke or lybell was conteyned matter of reproche and Infamye to sondry good members of this howse in particuler, and of the whole state of the howse in generall, reprocheng and Imbasyng, what in hym laye, the power and Authortie of this howse, and untrulye reportinge the ordres of this howse, affyrmeng amongst other greate reproches, that he knewe of his owne knowledge, that thys howse had Judged and proceeded untrulye, And further chardged hym, that he had therein also Injuriouslye Impeached the memorye of the said late Speaker decessed, affyrmeng that the ordres of this howse weare not by hym trulye delyvered or sett downe, but altered and chaunged.

And not herewith satisfied, hathe in some parte thereof conteyned a false and sclaunderouse discourse against the Antiquytie and Authortie of the comon howse or thirde estate of the parliament, wherein he hathe falsely sought, as muche as in hym is, to impugne, deface, blemyshe, and dymynyshe the power, antiquity and authoritie of this howse and the Interest that this howse hathe alwayes, and in all ages had, to the greate Impeachment of the auntyent order and government of this Realme, the rights of this howse and the forme of makinge lawes.

And that synce his beinge before the lords of the Cowncell for his said offence, and after he had receyved rebuke of them for the same, and had offered some forme of submission in that behalf, he had estesones agayne published the said booke.

And that where upon his examynacon in this howse he had denyed the havinge of anye more then one of the saide bookes, yt was yet proved he had xij or xiiij of them, And vj of them sythence the tyme he was called before the said lords of the Cowncell, and that he had by his letters gyven ordre to have iiij^{xx} of those bookes prynted, which was accordinglye with more, and that he had caused one of the same bookes sythence this Session of parliament to be sent to Sir Rondell Brewerton, knight.

Unto all whiche, as the saide Arthure Hall coulede make no denyall or sufficient awnswer, so the saide Comyttees settinge forth the natures and qualities of the saide offences in their severall degrees, moved in the ende that the saide Arthure Hall might be called in to the howse to awnswer unto those poynts before the whole howse, And so thereupon to proceede to some speedye ende, perswading therewithall a dewe consideracon to be had of spending the tyme (as muche as might be) in suche matters of the Realme for which this parliament was chieflie called.

Whereupon, after dyvers other Motyons and speeches had in the said matter, the saide prynter was brought to the barre and being examyned, avowed that Arthure

Hall, after that he had been before the Lords of the Cowncell, came to hym and tolde hym that he had awnswered the matter for the saide bookes before the Cowncell, and that therefore the saide prynter myght delyver the saide bookes abroad, affirming also, where the saide Henrye Bynneman the prynter sithence this Sessyon of parliament and synce his laste commytteng wysshes unto the saide Arthure Hall that all the saide bookes had bene burned before he medled with them, that Arthure Hall shoulde saye to hym agayne he woulde not so for a hundred pounde.

And then, he being sequestred, Arthure Hall was brought to the barre, Wheare after some meane reverence by hym doon, thoughe not in suche humble and lowlye wise as the state of one in that place to be chardged and accused requyred, Whereof being admonyshed by the Speaker, and further by hym chardged as well with the saide partes collected owt of the saide booke, as with other his mysdemeanours and contemptes aforsaide, he in some sorte submytted hym self to the howse, acknowledginge in parte his errours, imputing yt for the moste parte to his misprisyon, and that in partes the matters weare gathered otherwise then he ment, and thereupon prayed pardon of the howse, and that doon, was sequestred.

After whiche, upon sondrye motyons and Arguments had, toucheng the qualitie and nature of his fault and of some proportionable forme of punyshement for suche gryevouse offences, It was, upon the question, resolved and ordered by the whole howse, without anye one negatyve voice, that he shoulde be commytted to prison.

And upon another question, likewise resolved and ordered that he shoulde be commytted to the prison of the Towre, as the prison usuall for offenders to be commytted unto by this howse.

And upon another question, yt was in like maner resolved and ordered that he shoulde remayne in the said prison of the towre by the space of vj monethes, and so muche longer as untill hym self shoulde willingly make a particuler revocacon or retractacon, under his hande in wrytenge, of the said errours and slaunders conteyned in the saide booke, to the satisfaccon of this howse, or of suche ordre as this howse shuld take for the same, duringe the contynewaunce of this presente Session of Parliament.

And upon another question, yt was also in like maner resolved and ordered that a fyne shoulde be assessed by this howse to the Quenes Majestys use, upon the saide Arthure Hall, for his saide offence.

And upon another question, also yt was resolved and ordered in like maner, that the same fyne shoulde be 500 marks.

And upon another like question, also yt was likewise resolved and ordered that the saide Arthure Hall shoulde presently be removed, severed and cutt of, from beinge any longer a member of this howse, duringe the contynewaunce of this presente parliament.

And that the Speaker, by authoritie of this howse shoulde directe a warraunte from this howse to the Clark of the crowne in the Chauncerye for awardinge of the Quenes Majestys wyll to the Shyref of the said Countye of Lyncolne for a newe Burgesse to be returned in to this presente parliament for the saide Boroughe of Grantham, and in the lieu and steed of the saide Arthure Hall, so as before disabled anye longer to be a member of this howse.

And upon another question, yt was also in like maner resolved and ordered, that the saide booke or lybell was, and shoulde be holden, deemed, taken, and adjudged to be, for so moche as dothe concerne the errours aforsaid, condemned, whiche doon, the said Arthure Hall was brought in agayne to the bar, unto whome the Speaker in the name of the whole howse pronounced the said Judgement in forme aforsaid, and so the Sergeaunte commaunded to take chardge of hym and convey hym to the said prison of the towre, by warraunte from this howse, to be directed and signed by the said Speaker for that purpose.

*Arthur Hall's Submission to the Lords of the Council.*¹

(April 2, 1581.)

Wheare informacon was given unto the Common house of the Parliament in the last Session, that I, Arthur Hall, had set forth in print and published a Book in part tending to the slaunder, not onelie of Sir Robert Bell, late Speaker, and of sondrie particuler membres of the howse, But also of the proceedings of the said howse in the last session, in a cause that concerned me and one Smalley, my man, and that there was contained in the said Book a discours tending to the diminishing of the Authortie of the howse, uppon which informacon I was sent for and did appeare, and then was charged with the thinges above conteyned, whereuppon I confessed the making and setting forth therof,² ye sayd book without any Intent to have offended in such sort as by ye informacon I was charged, but afterward uppon a more particular examinacon, I was by certeine honorable persons, being Committees of the howse, charged with sondrye particuler thinges here followyng.

As first, that I had departed owt of the towne the last Session in Contempt of the Courte and had addressed an unsemelie letter to the howse, and that I had published the Conferences of the howse in print and therein uttred matter of infamie to the assemblie and to sondrie membres of the howse, and had untruely reported the orders and Judgments of the howse, and that I had defamed the memorie of the late Speaker, and that I had sought to discredit the proceedings of the sayd parliament, and to impair the ancient order and rites of the Common howse, and that since I was before the lords of the Councell and rebuked for the said Booke and offred submission, I had newly published the same Booke.

Uppon which Informacon given to the sayd howse, and being called to awnswere the said particuler offences and to my charge, I did in some thinges not advisidly wrytten confesse my fault, and so am ready to doe in this sort following, as farr furth as in my conscience any wayes I can be moved, knowyng yt to be trew yt ye wisest may [saie]³ *Hominis est errare*.

I cannot but acknowledge my self to have offended, in the hasty making, printing, and publishing of the said Booke,⁴ as well for that it was published without the names of the Author and printer, as for that in manie places of the said Booke, I did unadvisedly publishe in print the Conferences of the howse, and that I did, being in sum passion for mine owne private cawse, use some speches of the Speaker, who otherwise I revered, and som other persons by name, to whom I bare no mallyce though I was somewhat offended, but yet without anie intencon of infamie. Nevertheless I doe perceive and nowe do yeeld therunto that I did by my work give⁵ them some cawse of offence, for the which I am sorie.

I have also in sum partes of the saide Booke uttred my opinion of the proceedings of the said howse, bicawse the same weare against me, not in such good termes

¹ MSS. Lansdowne, Vol. 31, No. 21. The date is given on the first folio. The submission is partly written by Hall, with corrections in another hand. Thereupon follows a copy of the submission in Burghley's own handwriting. In one or two places there are divergences between this copy and the submission. These are pointed out in the notes.

² In Burghley's copy, only "of".

³ Only in Burghley's copy.

⁴ Opposite this passage, in Burghley's copy the following marginal note: "tho for the space almost of 2 yeares ther was but one onely cople taken from the prynter".

⁵ In the original stood "given". This was due to a confusion. Hall first of all wrote *had* and then altered this to *did*, but omitted to erase the *n* in *given*.

as became me, than caried therein with sum passion for mine owne particuler cawse, as naturallie wiser men maie be, but yet as they maie afterward doe uppon better consideracon, so I doe nowe confesse my oversight therein.

And wheare I am charged to have practicyed to discreditte the authoritie of the lawes and proceadinges of the parliament, I doe most humbly require that if my particuler speaches in sum things that concerned, as I than thought, mine owne cause, have been the cawse of that generally charging of me to discredit the authoritie of the lawes and procedyngs in ye parlement, I maie not for thos particuler thyngs yt concerned my self be charged with such a generall offence to the whole, for I doe from the botome of my hart reverence the lawes and proceadings in the Parliaments in both ye houses and Counsills, and doe allowe of the ancient authoritie of the common howse, wherein the third estate of the whole Realme is duellie represented, and so may it largely appeare in my said Book what a great accompt I mak both of the whole Parliament in generall and of the authoritie of the common howse, representing the third Bodie of the said Parliament, Requiring that my large writing uppon the matter in my said Book maie serve as well for my awnswer and excuse unto this genrall charg, as for an expressing of my good, reverent meaning both to ye sayd laws and procedyngs.

Finallie, I doe submitt my self first to the Quenes most excellent Majesty, the head of all the Bodies and Councells of this Realme, and I doe reverence in theire degrees, both in generall and particuler, all the membres allowed in thos Councells, both in the higher howse and in the common howse, and doe affirme to my poor understanding that theare cannot be anie better order by witt of man devised for the making, abrogating, or changing of lawes, to gouverne the Realme and everie particuler member from the highest to the lowest, then is already provided for, and of ancient time hath been practicyed in this Realme, by calling and assembling the thre Estates of ye realme, as they are called, to give advise, Councell, and aydes to the Quenes Majesty as ye head of the whole Realme, in all cawses to them expounded on the behalfe of the Realme.

And concerning my particuler offences, by anie thing conteyned in the said booke, that hath or maie breade offence to anie particuler person that either was or is of the said common house, I doe require them to interpret my unadvised speaches, rather to the passion of my self, being greved, then to anie intent of slaunder or infamie to anie of them all; and I request them and every of them to consider how easely many very wise men, yea, men of age and experience, err in spechees or wrytyngs uttered whyles ther mynds ar greved with ther particuler concepts touchyng them in creditte or in profitte.

And though I know my comming hyther is not to pronounce any thyng ageynst any person but ageynst my self, yet in acknolledgyng my own faults, I do hope yt some others, though very few, will not so condemn me as yt they will not be content to enter into ther own harts or Consciencies to consider, whyther by some sharp speeches ageynst me, as I did tak them, I had not some cause to thynk hardly of them; but yet, howsoever any other might so serve to gyve me cause, yet I confes yt I did not well in such a publyck sort to tax any for ye same, but I know I ought to remember the sayeng of Almighty God, which sayth *Mihi vindictam*.

*Arthur Hall to Lord Burghley.*¹

My Lorde, to the afflicted and wronged minde without remedie, complaint is some ease. And bicause your Lordship shal be judge betwene the late dealings of the lower house of Parliament and me, I most humbly besech you to spare some time to reade the same, and to pardon my presumption in thus troubling your Lord-

¹ MSS. Lansdowne, Vol. 31, No. 45.

ship. With much adoe long synce my committinge hether, I obtaine of the Speaker, with often sending thether, Articles collected against me; The which when I considered, I first meant to take in hand to answere them. But, remembring howe my Answeres, my excuses and submission hath bene alwaies hetherto arrested of the house, I thought I should but spende my travaile in vaine, and therfore reserved the same till I might be hearde by more favourable Judges. Yet bicause I would not stand so much in mine owne conceite, (though nowe I fynde I had great cause so to doe) bicause many of my great and good frends (of the which your Lordship is chief) had wished me the contrarie, I wrote unto the speaker a few lines touching some of the saide Articles, (the which I send your Lordship and the whole Articles herewith) wherby to sound the opinion of the house, whether it remained as hardlie bent towarde me as it beganne, and if not, to have proceeded further to have satisfied them.

The letter the speaker read in the house on wednesdaie, which done, ther was some appearaunce of favour towards me and certaine were appointed to come hether to me, touching the Articles I wrote of to the Speaker; and so sent he me worde not onely by my man but also by Mr. Lieutenaunt, who yesterdaie brought me neues from the house, that they willde me looke to my selfe, for I should receive no such favour, and that I that made the booke might fynde out what urged against me. And so they breaking their owne order, their mindes towards me is (*sic*!) easily perceived.

As for the Articles, I doubt not but I am able to answere and shewe the worlde that I have not deserved anie suche censure as they laie on me. But thus may your Lordship see what proffytt I should have reaped, if I had liberallie submitted my self to them in writinge, when uppon such A preparative as I have written, so small fruit followes.

God helpe them and me to, and reward your good Lordship for your favourable goodness towards me, declared to my Lord of Arundell, who most nobly, like himself, hath dealt for me in this my trouble. I pray God send you both all prosperitie.

The Towr this 10 of March, 1580.

Your lordships at commaundement to serve you,

ARTHUR HALL.

Arthur Hall to Lord Burghley.¹

I understande by Mr. Sackforde of your Lordships liberale favour in my suite to her Majestye, for the which I besech God to rewarde youe, and during my life, I will praye for youe and unfaynedly serve youe, yf any way my poore abylytee may stretch therto. As at all tymes I have well founde what a Mecaenas your Lordship hath bene to me, yet as much nowe as at any tyme, I perceive that yf your goodnes had not stode by me, I had manye tymes ere this, felt the harde Censure of my Contraries, who with all my hart, for her highnes sake, I would they did and alwayes might beare as loyall mynde to her as I do: comparysones are not good, but I am sure better they can not.

Shall I thinke that her highnes would refuse so smale a suite as myne was, to one her poore servant nowe nere twentye yeares, never benefyted one grote, the same also preferred by your Lordship in such favorable sort dyverse wayes, without the crossing of such as rather take pleasure to harme all but theyr favorytes, and attempt all who are not theyr followers no waye to be regarded. I thanke God and your Lordship that yet that remains to me, tho yt be smale, which wyll kepe me from fawning on them love me not, which yet yf yt wanted, I wolde not hold the stirrup

¹ MSS. Lansdowne, Vol. 36, No. 74.

to him who extraordinarlye goes about to stresse me therto. Good my Lord, Pardon me that I wayte not uppon youe at the Court. God is my wytnes, I have thought with my selfe, and I knowe not what contenance to loke with, yf I shold come thether, not the matter but the maner lyes heavy at my hart: for remedy wherof, yf her Majestye wold graunt me leave to become in some universytie out of this Lande, a yonge student of an old unthrift, I shall thinke my selfe most bounde unto her, for by that means my bodye shall have more rest, my purse better furnished, and my soule sonde reclaimed.

My Lord, I thanke youe, yea most humbly, and God thanke youe.

Wyngfeld house, this 23 of Julye, 1582.

Your Lordships most assured at commaundment,

ARTHUR HALL.

Arthur Hall to Lord Burghley.¹

ffor your Lordships most honorable favour the God above rewarde youe. Ther is, my good Lord, ment to be objected against me, as by dyverse of my freands I understande, whether the last jugment, which was gyven touching me in the Latter Parlyment, be by me performed or no, and yf not, wherefore yt was not.

The Judgment was that I should be commytted to the Towre and Lye ther six monthes, and so longe after, tyll I had retracted in wryting my nowne² booke, the which retraction should be allowed by certaine appoynted by them selves, who were named.

That I should be disenabled to be of that Companye that parlyment, and they ordered that a wryt should be sent downe to Granthame, to chouse a newe Burgesse in my Rome.

They fyned me at five hondred markes. All the which they did for wryting the booke, which your Lordship hath sene and which never cam abrode by me, but by Mr. Secretary Wilsones³ meanes, who had received them printed from the Stationers, by a warrant from the lords of the Counsell. What aucthorytee one house of Parlyement hath to execute such a judgment ageinst any subject, I referr to your honours grave and wyse knowledge. If they have nether lawe nor president therfore, my fortune is harde, and specyally because her Majestyes pardon and gracyouse delyverance of me wyl be allowed for no satisfaction.

I most humbly thanke your honour for your good comfort and consell, and if any waye I be able, as I trust I shall, I wyll carefully followe your Lordships advyce. If yt be possible, my good Lord, for Gods sake let some thing be made.

¹ MSS. Lansdowne, Vol. 43, No. 22.

² This stands for "myn owne".

³ Thomas Wilson (1525 (?) to 1581), like Hall, a Lincolnshire man. At Cambridge he was influenced by the movement in favour of Greek studies led by Cheke and Smith, and he became intimate with Roger Ascham. In 1555 he was at Padua and from there appears to have gone to Rome, where in 1557 he was involved in an intrigue against Cardinal Pole. He was arrested and brought before the inquisition and was only enabled to escape by the riot at the death of Paul IV. in 1559, when the mob broke open the prisons and released the heretics. He was employed as a diplomat under Elizabeth, and in 1577 became Secretary of State. He died very soon after the question of Hall's *Letter sent by F. A.* had been discussed in Parliament, viz., on June 17, 1581 (article by A. F. Pollard, *D.N.B.*, LXII, 132-36). Wilson was also a man of letters. His *Arte of Rhetorique* and his translation of Demosthenes are his best-known works. Hall was on good terms with Wilson at one time but objected to his being on the committee to investigate the quarrel with Mallory, cf. p. 69, note.

God knowe I do resolve not to be afreyed, but many wayes I maye be harmed, yf at this instant my poore reputation be to much wounded.

I wyll neverthesse obey your Lordships dyrection, not onely in this, but in all causes during my Life. If yt be your pleasure I repayre to the house, I wyll. He that best is able, make me worthy of your honorable favour towarde me.

Sylver streate, this 13 of december, 1584.

Your honours most faythfull and assured at commaundment,

ARTHUR HALL.

*Arthur Hall to Lord Burghley.*¹

My good Lord, for your especyall and manyfold favours, I have nothing to yeld your honour but most humble thanks, the which I do with all dutye and tho my weake abylyte can not deserve the least joyte of them, yet during my Life with all faythfulnes I wyll owe my servyce to youe, and as to such a one by whose com-forte many wayes I onely have had *Levamen* of the severe Crosses incydent to my tyme, without the which your goodnes I could hardly have abydden in any respect what hath falne uppon me, and what I dayly tast of. Accept, my good Lord, my poore good wyll and I pray God to recompence youe which I can not, howe wylling so ever I be. He humblye I besech to prosper youe.

Garter Lane, the 3 of Julye, 1586.

Your honours most assured at Commaundment

ARTHUR HALL.

*Arthur Hall to Lord Burghley.*²

I was bold to acquaynt your honour with a complaynt made of me by my Lady of Sussex, and what past at my first being before my Lord of Lesceter and the rest, of whome I requested tyme to answer, for that the matter depended uppon dyverse occurrantes, and those not lately happened. With much ado I optayned 2 or 3 dayes respekt, and monday being the day wherin I was ageyne called, I be-seched my Lord that yt would please hym to let nothing past betwene my Lady and me to be ript upp, alledging I should be dryven to declare what I was most unwylling, and the same not to the like of my Lady whome I was loth to offend, tho she had most hardly dyverse wayes used me, and when I could not optayne my desyre, I told my Lord that I thought yt was much, that I should be called for a pryvate cause before hym and that yf my Lady could fynde that I had offended her unlawfully, I was to answer to the Justice of Englande and so would wyllingly. Altho with the greatest protestation I could make I requested pardon for my speech before I uttered yt, yet my Lord grewe greatly offended to me, and sharply toke me up for other partyculers, nothing touching the matter, and with commaundment in the Quenes name, that ether I must suffer my Lady to have her wyll, and I to receave to her great triumph no smale disgrace: or els utter in my defence, what should not prove all Gospele cam out of her mouth. I partyculerly disproved in wryting her most untru allegations ageynst me, and in such sort as when my Lord and the rest had perused my answer, their myndes were altered, using me most honorably, wysshing the matter no further to be reaved in, and my Lady and I to remayne frends and the Quenes Majestye should be certyfyed that the whole was examyned and remayned in good tearmes.

Thus, my good Lord, presume I, to let your honour understande that the storme, I thanke God, is well calmed, and I wysh so much (as wel as my Ladyes best frends do) tho she have many wayes very badly deserved at my handes, that she had taken a better course then to Complayne so smaly to her good, and on

¹ MSS. Lansdowne, Vol. 51, No. 11.

² *Ibid.* 58, No. 26.

whome she hath so lyttle cause: I besech God kepe youe and send youe many happy and prosperous dayes: London, going home into the Contrey, 3 of April, 1588.

Your honours most assured at commaundment
ARTHUR HALL.

*Arthur Hall to Lord Burghley.*¹

If, my good Lord, the harde dealings are offerd me were ordynary, or I as mortyfied, and patient as the Apostels to disjest the Crosses of the worlde, I should not at thys tyme presse youe for your honorable favour as I do. Yesterday within lesse then one halfe quarter of an howre, after I sawe your honour before her Majesty going to the Chapple and before her Highnes retourned thence, Mr. Brackenbury cam to me in the presence with thys message from my Lord Chamberlayne that ther was no place for me, having matters to answer, that I should spedely avoyde thence, and that yf he founde me ther at her Majestyes comming backe, he would send me to pryson. I signified but, your honour, howe my Lady Francys of Sussex had complayned of me and that my Lord Stewarde with others had ended the same and that very honorably. Synce I was sent for by a Pursyvant into the Contrey, and have thys month attended, desyerring to have the cause determyned, but deferd styll I am with commaundment to wayte tyll I be cald. Being nowe at the Court to seeke means for an end, and according to my duty to wayte on her Majesty, I receaved the disgrace mentioned. I know no reason, my good Lord, but that my Lady of Sussex can not abyde to loke uppon my evyl face, for so reported she about ten dayes past with many slaundersous and untrue speeches to my brother Skipwith,² whome I sent to her to desyre pacyfycation, that all the worlde should not talke of her and me.

Never any man my like from your equal hath more tasted favour. Tho my state be most weake to deserve yt, yet contynue yt, my good Lord, because I nede yt, yf not therfore, for Justice sake, and let me enjoye by your honorable good help what belongs to an Englishman, freborne, a gentleman, and her Majestyes servante. If I have faulted ageynst her, tourne me out not onely of her house but of the worlde, yf not, (as yt shall never be founde—under correction I speak yt) why should I be commaunded out of her presence, to (*sic*!) I were complayned of and founde faulty to, by any pryvate person for a pryvate action, which wyl no waye nether, I trust, so fall out. If those have complayned of me, were as well inquyerd of as I am, I suppose she would deserve much lesse to be admytted into the Quenes presence then my selfe.

My Lord Chamberlayne hath don me many wrongs, my mony he keps from me which he hath ought me many yeares: most opprobrious words he hath in open place gyven me, and nowe commaunded me from her Majestyes presence. If yt be her Highnes pleasure I so should be, I must be content therwith, yf otherwyse, let me have your favour, that my cause be knowen to her Majesty, and before the whole Consel borde my Lady of Sussex and me hearde, and let ech have theyr deu. Your honours are those to whome the distressed must run.

I have, my Lord, wrytten to my Lord Chancellour, but not at large, touching the premisses, and to my Lord of Canterbury, my very good Lord.

I humbly take my leave: I humbly remayne thankfull for your honours mani-

¹ MSS. Lansdowne, Vol. 58, No. 29.

² Henry Skipwith of Cotes and Prestwould, Co. Leicester, M.P. for Leicester in 1585, married Jane, daughter of Francis Hall and sister of Arthur Hall (Maddison, *op. cit.*, Harl. Soc., Vol. 52, p. 890).

fold goodnes : I humbly besech youe to pardon thys my boldnes : and I humbly praye God to prosper youe.

London, 27 of May, 1588.

Your honours most assured at commaundment

ARTHUR HALL.

*Arthur Hall to Lord Burghley.*¹

If, my good Lord, yt were not my fortune which in my cradle was assured me, I can not fynde any peece of a reason, why such strang accyidents should light uppon me, as hath and doth. Loth I am to trouble your honour so often as I do : but God is my Judge I have alwayes receaved more comfort from youe, then from all the worlde besyde and without the which my lyfe had ben most lothsom : I wyl praye for youe, and remayne with a most humble mynde to serve youe.

The Chiefest poynts by my Lord Steawarde and others layed to me in the behalfe of my Lady of Sussex were these : that I commenced suyte of mariage to her, and wold not uppon her short answer desyst therfro : that I had wrytten a booke greatly to her dyshonour and that I gazed uppon her at Shrovytde at the Court to countercounenance her.

To the fyrst I answerd, that to seeke a wyfe, howe great a subject so ever she were, I being a gentleman I was not forbydden : and in truth of all others, I least ment in that case to have troubled my Lady, knowing her hawtynes as I do, had I not first, uppon occasions of talke, receaved from her selfe such wordes, as me thought, were great introductions to make me beleave she intended specyall favour toward me. Theruppon, about the space of two yeares I contynued to followe what I cam ful short of. My Lady hath protested to many, is beleaved of som, and especyally of my Lord Chamberlayne, that I never moved matter of mariag to her, nether cam nearer her then the lenght (*sic* !) of her Chambers. I am sorry, tho she have gyven me smale cause so to do, that my Lady should so impudently vouch untruths : God wyl be a Right judge between her and me, and her owne conscyence can tell her, howe she doth wrong me in so saying, and what hath past between her and me I referr to hym.

To the booke, uppon her open and often slanderous, and infamous speeches of me, I to answer to my freands her invectives, toke the same in hande, wherin I sett downe with as good foresight as I could, no more of our proceedings then might be disjested by the nycest dispositions, so that they cam not with prejudyciall mynds : and yet to disguyse the matter, I did make our late borne action a Hungaryous hystory many yeares past, which, when yt was fynysshed, yet had never bene put to prynt but by my Lādyes owne foule speeches : but at the presse, and the news brought to her, her heate abated, perhap she supposing more matter was therin included then is, and therefore more then 2 yeares past, she sent Sir Hen. Harington to me, to say that she was content to talke to me, yf I would com to her, and to end all unkyndnesses in good tearms and freandshipp. I agreed therto, and in the presence of Sir John and Sir Henry Haringtone her Nephews, I delyverd her the booke, and parted with her wyth the promyse of her honour, wheron she gave me her hande, that she would thinke as well of me as any man, do for me what she could, and accompt of me as her good freande and kynseman ; the like wordes sent she me sondry tymes by Sir Wylliam fitzwyllliame, wheruppon at her request, I burnt in the presence of the Haringtons all the prynted bookes I then had, saving 2 they earnestly requested of me, and som 2 or 3 I reserved for my selfe, and being carefull to suppress all other Copyes, I caused search to be made at the Printers, who had stolne a hondred from me tho I had agreed and payed for the whole, and those also my mony went for which I [had] in my Custody : besyde to content my

¹ MSS. Lansdowne, Vol. 58, No. 30.

kynde Lady, to my greate charge, I procured [back] certayne fragments copyed out in wrytten hande by dyverse.¹ Synce thys tyme I have behaved my selfe in al respects as becomes me, I never hearing from her, nor she from me, tyll Shrovyde last, when my lookes offended her, which part to answeere to your honour, being so frivolous, I thinke nedes not.

To prove to your Lordship that the matter was not made so strange as my Lady affyrmes, I sende your honour thre letters from my Lord of Arundell to me, who of hym selfe requested for the good mynde he bare me, to try hys traveyl with my Lady in my behalfe; many more I have from my Lord and others, which wyl playnly prove, yt is far from Gospell comes out of my Ladyes mouth.

I have wondered, my good Lord, that my Lord Steward and others, as my Lord of Warwycke, the Vycechamberlayne, and Mr. Wolley,² would commytt me for the booke, them selves confessing they never sawe yt: but in truth I thinke in my consyence, they were not greatly wylling to sende me hether, but drawen, I dare not say howe, by my Lord Chamberlayne, whose sharpe and sowre using me, with many bad and harde wordes, I must beare wyth pacyence. His Lordship, as he sayeth, hath reade a peece of the booke, so much as was first copyed in wrytten hande, and with many bytter speeches, he told me yt was an infamous libell, which I graunt I earnestly gaynsayed. I send yt your honour herewith, I feare your Lordship nether can nor wyl tende to reade such a tryfle; yf youe do, and mete with a name Galfride, say the same is Guillielmus, Lord Burleighe.

Many tymes happy would I have thought my selfe, yf my cause might have bene hearde at the whole consell borde, but my chance was not so good.

The end is thys that I must submytt my selfe to my Lady, which God wylling, I wyl never during my Lyfe. I trust in tyme, tho yt be longe first, my cause shal be better examyned, when profe wyl lay playne open my Ladyes most grosse untrue reportes and the wrongs I have receaved. I have sought by all the good means I could devyse to pacyfy her, synce thys matter cam first before my Lord Steaward, but no good wold be don. My Lord Chamberlayne and others have greatly condemned me, for using a Lady of the Quenes chamber, as they say I have don. My Lady is, as I suppose, smaly worthy of respect in that consyderation, wheras I can shewe under her owne hande, that it ys a place of smale credyte or benefytt.

The blowe is lighted, my good Lord, on me, to the greatest disgrace that ever I had; but yf yt wyl please her Majesty to have things well examyned, I doubt not but my Lady of Sussex wyl be founde worthyer to be heare then I, and yet I wyl be none of her accusers.

God kepe, prosper, and defend youe, make me able to serve youe, and to shewe my selfe thankfull unto youe, and in the meane tyme, al I have I wyl bestowe on your honour, which is to praye for youe.

The Marshalsey, the 1 of June, 1588.

Your honours most assured at commaundment

ARTHUR HALL.

*Arthur Hall to Lord Burghley.*³

If I could tell whether to run and be indyfferently hearde, or wher to complayn to be with equitye consydered of, or wher to seeke redresse of the uneven measure I receave, I would not shamlesly, contynually, thus trouble your honour. But syth, my good Lord, I have no shift but to repayre to youe, or els submisly to yeld to my misfortune, and gyve my ennemyes full scope styll to injure me, I most humbly besech your honour to beare with my often molesting youe.

¹ The manuscript is somewhat mutilated here.

² Probably John Wolley, Latin Secretary of State.

³ MSS. Lansdowne, Vol. 58, No. 35.

To delate my case to your Lordship nedes not: but I feele yt heavy to be punished thus extreamely for a pryvate question, not any way to be drawn to matter of state, and wherin I have by my adversary ben so many tymes most slaunderously and malycyously wronged, to my no smale disgrac, particularly from her selfe, to my greate discredyte openly by my Emprisonment and so consequently many wayes to my prehynderance.

I wyll not imagin (tho the presumptions be somewhat apparent so to leade me) that any of so honorable a calling as a Consellour wyl wyshe me to confesse a fault, where I have made none; to vouch untruths contrary to myne owne assured knowledge: to affyrme that my Lady of Sussex most impudent slanders and fables be sounde and honorable reportes: or that when I am wrongfully beaten, I must say I am favorably chastised and wyllingly kys the rod. I would yt had pleased God my cause might have bene examyned before the whole Consell, and yf yt yet might be, I should stande contented for every day imprisonment they should thinke me worthy of, to endure ten, yf the yeares of my Lyfe could aforde them.

I most humbly besech youe to pardon thys my importunate presumption, and that yt wyl please your honour to have me in remembrance, and yf any fyt occasion wold serve to vouchsafe to stande so much my good Lord (yf your honour shall thinke yt so convenyent) to but mention me to her Majestye. I trust I shall remayne in her Highnes good opynyon, not withstanding the practyses of my contraries. I wyl tary your honours tyme, and content my selfe with your pleasure in all things, as well as in thys my imprisonment, wher I remayne with none but Pyrates, traytors, and beggers, some very fewe except, besyde Mr. Wylliam Fytton, who for the good partes in hym, I would he were as conformable to the Lawes as I wyshe, and Mr. Tho. Wygmore, whose weaknes, by means of some languishing or hydden imbecillytee, is many tymes a very unfytt man for thys place. Yf yt would please the lords of the Consell to thinke on him, as he hath often told me, hys hope is in your honour, and by my trothe, my selfe hath none at all but in youe.

I praye God prosper youe: I am ready to serve youe and with most humble duty, I remayne unfaynedly thankfull for all your honours liberall favours.

Marshalsey, thys 20th of July, 1588.

Your honours most assured at commaundment for ever

ARTHUR HALL.

Arthur Hall to Lord Burghley.¹

I most humbly thanke your honour for your most esspeciall favours in thys my present trouble, and with the best mynde I can imagin, I besech your Lordship not to misdeame of me for any of these late accidents. I must wryte (my sonne tels me) to my Lord Steawarde and my Lord Chamberlayne that I have offended my Lady of Sussex. I graunt, my good Lord, I have so don, but moved therto, by what she would be more ashamed of, yf all were well knowne, then I have cause to greve at my imprisonment, yf I looke into the weight of my offence.

To yeld to the meanest Consellour what is hys dewe I wyl alwayes humbly to the uttermost, and stande ready and wylling to be commaunded by them to do what shall best like them, relying uppon their honours wysdomes and care, that they wyl not perswade, and lesse force, any gentleman to yelde to what shal be to hys reproche, and the mayntenance of pryde and untruthes. For any letter to be dyrected to my Lady of the confession of my fault to her, I besech God to take away my tonge to speake and the use of my hand to wryte, before I ether by the one or other so do. I trust he wyl not leave me to so foule an erreore, and, my Lord, I wryte yt to your honour, to whome I wyll not lye in any thing, yf God forsake me not.

¹ MSS. Lansdowne, Vol. 58, No. 38.

My good Lord, I am commytted for offending, as yt is intended, a lady of her Majestyes Chamber, a great personage, to whome therfore greate regard is to be had, as is alledged. I can shewe under her hande that her Highnes pryvy chamber is a place of smale credyte or benefytt, howe unworthy she is for her undutyfulnes to have favour, (I would I might, yet not I) but good profes be hearde: for the greatnesse of her bloode, I accompt my selfe not the least smale joyte her inferioure.

To referr to her consyence what wrong she hath don me, is a simple helpe, for ether she hath none or the same is most large.

My Lady wyll have me crye her mercy, my lords so wyll to: for what? for the cause her selfe sought to take upp, agreed to, and by her slight honour swore to performe and which was also by the chiefe of my Commytters not but ended in honorable termes before the last hearing: and wherfore must I do yt, but to conter what is greate pytye to be hyd or to satisfyes the humores of such as wyll not be contraryed.

I have, my good Lord, sewed for equitye and favour of youe, the lords of the consell, wher most largely I have many tymes founde yt and I despayre not of yt yet. I wyl present her Majestye with supplications and also your honours, and as I stande assured that her Highnes and your Lordships wyl permytt the lawes of the Lande to be enjoyed by every subject, so wyll I humbly request that I may have the fruytion of them.

I would be very glad for a whyle to go home, to loke to my house and smale stocke: but yf ther be no remedy, and that I can not optayne so much, I must say with Aeneas, *Una salus victis, nullam sperare salutem*.

For Gods sake, accompt me your honours poore servant, and accept my most humble thanks: and he kepe and prosper youe with al blessednes.

fleete, thys 26 of August, 1588

Your honours most assured at commaundment for ever,

ARTHUR HALL.

Arthur Hall to Lord Burghley.¹

I most humbly thanke your honour for your favour employed to my reliefe, and wheras yt hath pleased youe to say I do not perhap thinke what youe have moved therfore, assuredly, my good Lord, as I have always relyed uppon youe and wyll, so do I, and ever have accompted my selfe so bounde unto your honour, as never any my equal hath bene more to one of your calling.

I am most hartely sorry that her Majestye is so incensed ageynst me. God and my Consyence knowes, I never deserved her Highnes displeasure; what to my powre I have alwayes prosecuted, according to my duty to purchase her good opynyon, I would I were so happy that her Majestye as wel kneue as she beleaves untrue informations ageynst me. If my behavvour be thought to crave the denyall of my request to be hearde, or to injoye the Laws of the realme, wherunder I am borne, I would to God yt wolde stande with her Highnes good liking, to have the same thorowly examyned, and being founde culpable, to abyde the rigour of Justice.

Synce your honour, from your owne service, from whence I would I had never parted, put me to her Majestye, which is 24 or 25 yeares past, I have abydden many Crosses: and the greatest, that uppon malyciouse informations ageynst me, and not receaving the smalest benefytt for my faythfull, dutifull allegiance, I have often tasted of the Quenes bytter conceyt ageynst me and never coulde com to answer for my selfe.

I wrote unto my Lord Chamberlain the letter I sende your honour. I humbly besech youe to reade the same: yt would not be receaved. Altho hys Lordship is

¹ *State Papers, Domestic, Eliz.*, Vol. 217, No. 52.

determinyd to hold a harde hande of me, yet in equitye he should pay me my mony he owes me, altho my want were not so extreame as yt is. I am advised to move my lords of the Consell therof and yf that wyl not serve, to make my petition to her Majestye therfore. Also I am consoled to remove my selfe with a habeas Corpus to the kings benche, wher yf no cause or warrant can be shewed sufficient for the retayning me in prison, I shal be presently enlarged: and for warrant, I am sure ther is none vaylable to retayne me here, when I am removed by wrytt: and but fearing her Highnes displeasure, I would have taken that course ere thys: and would venter all, rather then miserably to my undoing, having so great causes in Lawe and otherwyse, spende my tyme here. But without your good honours liking, I wyl never do anything during my Lyfe, to whome I wyl remayne for ever most dutyfull.

flete, 23 of october, 1588.

Your honours most assured at commaundment for ever

ARTHUR HALL.

Arthur Hall to Lord Burghley.¹

My honorable good Lord, the onely comfort of my misfortunes and myseryes, I most humbly besech youe to allowe of my most dutyfull and humble thanks for your honours large and styll contynued favours especyally shewed to me. I am sorry that my Lord Chamberlain and Mr. Vycechamberlain oppost them selves ageynst me, a poore man, long imprisoned, howe hardly I remytt to God, and to such as your honour is. I never expected to have so harde dealing inflicted upon me, for be yt, my good Lord, I have faulted, my longe and extreame imprisonment for such an offence as myne is intended, I hoped would have satisfied the partye offended.

I sent the submission, which your honour sawe, by my nephew Skipwith to my Lord Chamberlain who founde hym selfe much greved, because the same was dyrected to the whole Consell, but being myldly answerd by my Nepheu he greue colder: withall wyling me to wryte an other, and to dyrect the same to such as commytted me, which was fulfilled, and retourned accordingly, accompanied with an humble letter to my Lord for hys favour towarde me, but upon the perusing of both, he fell into such Choler, as the messenger was weary of hys office, and I sorry to heare the report of my letters answer. But I have no reliefe but paycence, and the onely *Solamen* I receive by your honorable favour.

My Lady of Sussex, as yt is brought me from some nere about her, hath made nowe lately my Lord Chamberlain the Master of her Game at Newe hall and els where, bysede also her Executour. I was not, my good Lord, at the sondry payments, but the reporte runs that my Lord hath lightned som of my Ladyes bags. Al notwithstanding, I hope at the last I shal be hearde, and theruppon with all humylytee and contentment submyt my selfe to my lords of the Consell. In the meane time and always, from the botom of my hart beseching God to sende your honour many happy, prosperous and long yeares.

Flete, 28 of november, 1588.

Your honours most humble and assured at commaundment for ever

ARTHUR HALL.

Arthur Hall to Lord Burghley.²

If your honour should suppose me nether for my selfe as I am, nether for any good wyll or servyce I have borne youe, nether for any smale hope of amendment of my Lyfe, which haply hath bene badly esteemed of (God be Judge howe justly or

¹ MSS. Lansdowne, Vol. 58, No. 41.

² *Ibid.* 59, No. 12.

unjustly), yett, good my Lord, further me to injoye the Justice and portion which in al common wealthes the Lawes of them do allowe.

Thys daye my poore dawghter, yt may be in your honour hearinge, moved her majestye to be gratiouse to me. I can not wryte yt without teares, (for so do I, yf God be just) her Highnes answer was, the place I remayned in was to good for me, and Bedlem a fyttter. If I deserve Bedlem, I am sorry for yt. Good my Lord, speake for me, that I may have Justice, and yf worse then Bedlem hap to me, I wyl take yt in good part.

My good Lord, yf her Majestye conceive so yll of me, I would to God she would vouchsafe to take all I have, so my debtes be answerd, and my smale patrimony saved after my discease to my chyldern, and confyne me wher best shall stande with her pleasure, with allowance of one xx £ a yeare.

My Lord, I was brought up with youe, I have lyved and bene shelded by youe; youe are one of the greatest Consellors of the Lande; agre to my punishment, yf my fault deserve yt. If otherwyse, ayde me; Justice byds yt, youe knowe God is pleased therwith, and he knowes youe might, maye, and shall commaunde my Lyfe. Pardon, my good Lord, thys my boldnes; yf I have offended, the worde Bedlem in so open audyence, and from my Soverayne, by the untrue informations of my adversaries, so made me (a hearde rewarde, with all reverence I speake yt, for 24 or 25 years servyce). God kepe your honour; he hold me in your good opynyon, and sende my better fortune or quickly my grave.

Flete, the 2 of february, 1588.

Your honours most assured at commaundment for ever

ARTHUR HALL.

Arthur Hall to Lord Burghley.¹

I confess, my good Lord, I wrote unto youe with a greved mynde, and wheras your Lordship wrytes I nether prove or alledge any unkyndnes your honour hath don me or myne, and that yf I can prove none, I do youe wronge, and that your Lordship receaves unkindnes from me, if I should, my Lord, uppon no occasion so boldlye wryte as I have done, I were to badly advysed; and yet I wyl confesse that I may err in myne owne conceyte, for that I have alwayes vowed my fayth and duty to my Lord Thresorer and therefore have the rather expected hys good opynyon and favour.

I did not yesterday, my Lord, in my letter touch any accyidents happened to me of former tyme, as that your honour did then favour my adversaries, for I was greatly bounde to your Lordship in them, as also for my trouble, being in the Towre; but whether in that imprisonment I had wronge or no, I refer to God. Further, for my trouble touching my Lady of Sussex, I thinke never subject of my poore calling had more injurie, not onely for the longe restraynt from my lyberty, but many other wayes, al notwithstanding I most humbly thanke your Lordship for your honorable favour then towarde me.

I am sorry that the greefe of my mynde hath forced me to wryte what poore good wyl I have borne youe, and your Lordship wrytes youe beleave yt because I report yt, besyde the which your Honour sayes youe have no more certaynty, do my Lord, beleave yt, and when yt pleases youe (which I desyre not but because I would be founde to say no more then is true) I wyl particularly put youe in mynde of what I may not forgett and for what I was not alwayes hasty to crave thankses. I must nedes say, God is my Judge, I thought my selfe happy when any way I could do any good offyce towarde youe.

I most humbly thanke youe Lordship for the comfortable wordes in the end of

¹ *State Papers, Domestic, Eliz., Vol. 238, No. 8.*

your letter. I wyl indeavour my selfe to deserve your honorable good mynde towarde me, and in the meane tyme besech God to prosper youe.

February 17, 1590.

Your honours unfayned poore wel wyssher at commaundment,

ARTHUR HALL.

*Arthur Hall to Lord Burghley.*¹

My Lord, as a man is very loth to offende youe, for at the unkindnes I perswade my selfe I receave at your handes, I humbly besech youe to beare with the uttering of that which lyes heavily at my stomache.

It is not unknowen to your Lordship nor to my Contrey that I have lyved without quarrel or question with any, tyl Wylliam Porter² accused me for wordes at myne owne borde, which was taken hold of by Couper, then Bishop of Lyncolne,³ Justice Monson,⁴ and then Anthony Thorold,⁵ and prosecuted and agravated by Richard More,⁶ her Majestyes Receaver in the County. Synce that tyme your Lordship hathe understode the disagreement betwene Anthony and me, which greue to a very greate height, and by the hyssing on of the sayed More, as your Honour told hym openly in the Star Chamber, when a cause was ther hearde betwene hym and me.

Synce which tyme the sayed More claymes and holdes Landes of myne contrary to hys owne hande and othe; he hath purchased pretended tytles to other Landes of myne⁷; he hath taken in most imperious and insolent manner, contrary to lawe, my sonns fouling peece dyverse tymes; he hath most slaunderously touched my poore house; he hath wrytten most infamous, reprochful, and false letters to the Justices of peace ageynst me; he hath most impudently in hys wryting belyed me touching the Quenes Majesty, and also in them spoken untruly and undutyfully of her Highnes, as they sene your Lordship knowes and no man better; he hath informed the Justice of Assise with as many untruthes as almost he hath wrytten lynes.

About a yeaere or somewhat more, I wrote unto your Lordship of thys More, declaring some of hys bad dealinges toward me, wheruppon your Lordship wrote unto me about other thinges to this effect, vid., that yf I would capitulate unto youe the wronges and Injuries I had susteyned by the sayed More, youe would cause recompence to be made me, to my content and satisfaction, also that yf your Lordship had not appoynted order for taking hys acompt, you would etc.

My Lord, I have bene your warde and servant and I have bene an honest man toward you, alwayes in most fayth and truth, to the dangeering of my verie great freandes, to the purchasing of mighty ennemyes and to the nere peril of my Lyfe. I have answered to preserve the reputation of some of yours, when I yet never founde any nerest youe went any whyt therein. I yelded in your Lordships handes Mr. Thomas Knevet's patent, which by your honours opynyon judge⁸ a fytte thing to deale in; I employed no smale charge and traveyle; Her Majestyes servant I have bene these 26 or 27 yeaeres; my sonne, tho a folyshe boy, a gentleman, your servant and Godson; for my selfe, I have had your good countenance in tymes

¹ *State Papers, Domestic, Eliz.*, Vol. 238, No. 55.

² See p. 94.

³ Cf. p. 97.

⁴ Cf. p. 65.

⁵ Cf. p. 98.

⁶ Cf. p. 97.

⁷ According to E. Turnor, *Collections for the Town and Soke of Grantham*, p. 65, Arthur Hall in 1571, obtained a licence to sell the manor of Earlsfields at Grantham to Richard More. This manor lies west of the town and has partly been sold for building purposes, part still being agricultural land. As Colonel Welby kindly informs me, a portion of it is still in the hands of his family.

⁸ The construction here seems confused. Over "opynyon", the word "was" is erased and "judge" inserted.

past to my comfort, but not to encrease my wealth or reputation. I craved but your favorable goodnes to me, my sonne and myne, ageynst a most leude beggars Bratt, a neue upstart in our Contrey, and (pardon me, my Lord, yf greefe make me to playne) your Lordship ether beleaves hym to much who almost never sayes true or me to lyttle who, what so ever any man thinke, wyl never be founde false of my speech. From her Highnes I never receaved any way the benefyt of any thing, which truly I fynde no mislike of, for that I am not able to deserve ought of her Highnes, but suppose that all the servyce I may to the uttermost do is but my duty.

My sonne is towarde the worlde. God make hym happier then hys father. My good Lord, I was in hys cause and myne owne to besech youe to be a meane we might not be wrongd, a sytte, I thinke, which your Lordship wyl graunt to any man, and more we asked not, nor yet have don, I am sure, these many yeares, tho many thinges and these not smale almost happen every day in your handes to bestowe. If any report have com unto your Lordship to leade youe to conceive hardly of me, let me knowe yt, and yf I have not bestowed my selfe like an honest man in all respectes towarde youe, let me beare the blame justly belongs to the contrary.

Let not Arthur Hall have cause to saye, my Lord, which to many do, that ether my Lord Thresorer cares not for many of hys poore freandes or myndes them not. I am redy to serve your Lordship wherein I am able, yf yt may be wel accepted; yf otherwyse, I shal be most hartely sorry. I wyl not trouble you with the many particulers of the greeves (my peavysh nature, some may so tearme yt) my Lord Thresorers unkyndnes hath possest me with. I could capytulate the one and dare make hym selfe Judge of them, the other I feele to my smart.

God send your Honour al prosperytye, me thankefull to my freandes and they not to unkynde to me.

My Lodging, the 26 of february, 1590.

Your honours poore unhappy countreman at commaundment,

ARTHUR HALL.

Arthur Hall to Lord Burghley.¹

My good Lord, what opynyon so ever is held of me in general or partyculer, with desyre of your Lordship to conster well of my meaning, may yt please youe, yt is discontentedly reported that ther is a Commission from her Majesty to your Lordship and Mr. Josive (?) to graunt lycenses for the transporting of Corne, Graene, and Beare out of the Realme, in what tearmes your Lordship best knowes. The Consyderations inducing the same I besech your honour to looke into, which don, I stand in good hope your Lordship wyl have great care of the poore of thys common wealth, many hondreds wherof I knowe wil be nowe glad of breade, and very smale drinke, so breade, yea pleased with water. Corne is nowe deere with us in the County of Lyncolne (I speake ageynst my selfe, for the better thyrd of my Lyving consystes of Graene which of myne owne groeth I yearly sel). My Duty to her Majestye, the Common wealth and youe hath wylled me to say thus much to your honour. Many wordes from a simple man as I am, wyll but trouble your Lordship. What I wel intend, I trust youe wyll wel accept, and then have I lost no labour, but thinke my selfe well employed.

I pray God send long lyfe and prosperous yeares to her Majestye, to the state of England welthy and happy peace, and to your Lordship as much good as any man may enjoye.

London, the 22 of november, 1591.

Your Lordships ever at commaundment,

ARTHUR HALL.

¹ MSS. Lansdowne, Vol. 68, No. 102.

Arthur Hall to Lord Burghley.¹

Your honours late honorable letter, which so far Rightly fyts your selfe, as not to harme those who in faythfull meaning, tho they have erred, would buy your favour very deere, hath baulmed the deepe wounde conceyte told me I had: yea, yt hath a greater vertue then ever the Chiefe Baulme, that of Egipt; yt hath clene sweeped away and stopped up the sears and bleding of my mynde, which other Baulme is and was in force to worke the same effect in fleshe.

Among the rest of your Lordships speches, at my last being with your honour, I remember youe argued me somewhat, for that my sonne, your Godson, did not attend on youe, being your Lordships servant, and that I shold withdrawe hym ther fro. My Lord, yf yt wyll please youe, he shal wayte on youe, say when, wher, howe, and at all tymes he shall want my favour, which I thinke he doth regarde as becomes hym, yf he obey not your Lordships commaundment.

One of the greatest suytes that ever I had, the case as yt ys, because my poore credyt ys more to be respected then my lyfe, nowe standes: that wheras your honour wrytes that yf I leave my Courses, to charge youe with unkindnes, youe wyll aforde me your favour. Good my Lord, (yt ys said your Lordship hath reported I have an heredytary qualytee to make notes) yf I fault hereafter from the tyme of your letter, the 23 of thys month, I wyl confesse I am not worthy to lyve. But let me most humbly besech youe to try the question, what so ever that com to your eares synce that day, before youe condemne me: and assuring my selfe of your Lordships favour, I rest devoted to the same,

26 of June, 1597.

Your Lordships most faythfull to be commaunded,

ARTHUR HALL.

Arthur Hall to Lord Burghley.²

May yt please youe, my very good Lord, that wheras yt is signified to your honour, that Robt. Bonde for hys Collectyon lately indebted to her Majesty, should delyver me 400£ in the Contrey to pay into the Exchequer, I have very greate wronge therin, as maye appere by the bondes of myne he hath assigned, wher in them is shewed the tyme he gave me for payment, he lending me the mony, and also the interest specyfyed for the loane therof. Altho my poverty be greate, yet I humbly besech your Lordship not to suppose me so leude, that I would retayne any mony of any man who shold put me in trust to pay.

Touching thys assingment, I was sent for by Mr. Baron Ewyns, who bounde me in 400£ to appere at al tymes when I shold be called, and so I remayne styl. Processe also, may yt please your honour, notwithstanding went into the Contrey, wheruppon my lande was extended.

Synce, I have dyverse tymes bene to Mr. Chancellour, offering to assigne to her Majestyes use debtes to me of the Erle of Huntingdon, and my Lord De la ware, and wyl assigne with Judgments for debt ageynst Mr. John Zouch of Codnor and Mr. Phi. Strelley of Strelley, ageynst both which two last I have had dyverse yeares executyons into the Towne of Notingham, wher theyr most abode ys, and into the Countyer of theyr dwellings, to my greate charge, and yet no wryt served by any means.

After my attendance on Mr. Chancellour, Mr. Wryttington of the Star Chamber being one of R. bondes suertyes, with three more for 100£ a peece, and to answer whose bondes, the assingment of my debt was made, conferred with the other obligees, and agreed uppon thys order, vid. that they wold in respect to be assured

¹ MSS. Lansdowne, Vol. 85, No. 16.

² *Ibid.*, No. 17.

of their owne, lay downe so much mony as they were charged with, and take out my bondes, and gyve to me 3 yeares day of payment uppon assurance which was liked by them. And I answering after 5*l* in the hondred for my debt, with all that wheras I am in the first frutes offyce bounde for the sayd R. Bond in 100*l*, and my lande therfore extended, they 4 and my selfe sholde equally contrIBUTE for the dyscharge of so much therof, as would growe to my share to pay: for in the same offyce others being bounde as well as I, yf Bondes debt be evenly proportioned, I thinke ech mans part wyll not amount to a hondred pounce.

I most humbly besech your Lordship that yf Robert Bondes suertes wyll go from the order they once promysed, as Mr. Wryttington tels me they wyll, hym selfe accept [*sic* /], that I may optayne as much favour as other men have had whose debts have to be assingned.

I shal be most wyllingly content, that at any rate shal be thought good by your honour my Lande be extended to answer the assingment: being an humble suyter that of the same assingment, I may be relyved for my 100*l* I am bounde in the first fruytes for the sayd Bonde, as others shal be therby, who are hys suertes as wel as I. Yea, say your honour what youe wyl, and yf yt lye in me by any means, yt shal be performed. And with most faythfull and dutyfull thanks to your honour, I besech God long to mayntaine and prosper youe.

29 of June, 1597.

Your Lordships unfaynedly never to offend youe at commaundment,
ARTHUR HALL.

Arthur Hall to Lord Burghley.¹

I most humbly besech your honour, that wheras Mr. Robt. Bonde hath assingned to her Majesty a debt I should owe hym of £400, for the which my Lande ys extended, that yt would please your good Lordship somewhat for my reliefe, I might likewise assigne to her Highnes certayne debtes, which Mr. John Zouch of Codnor in the County of Derby doth owe me, by dyverse specyalties, vid. an obligation of 100*l* and by one Recognisance in the Chancerye of 280*l* wherof I have Judgment, that by your Lordships order the same might be performed. I shall dutyfully pray God alwayes to prosper youe.

29 novem. 1597.

Your Lordships wholly at commaundment,
ARTHUR HALL.

[Note by Lord Burghley:—"Mr. Baron Clarke, I pray youe to consider of this request, and if youe knowe no cause to the Contrary, I pray youe lett him have an assignment".]

Arthur Hall to Lord Burghley.²

I most humbly thanke your Lordship for your greate Honorable favours in my behalfe, signified to the Barons of the Excheaquer and Mr. fanshawe.

Good my Lorde, assure your selfe, I remayne most desyerous and alwayes ready to do your honour all the servyce I can, dayly beseching God to kepe and prosper your Lordship.

24 of february, 1597.

Your honours most faythfull at commaundment,
ARTHUR HALL.

¹ MSS. Lansdowne, Vol. 85, No. 39.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 86, No. 37.

Arthur Hall to James I.¹

On the vellum cover:—"most gratiouse kinge, reade this, the sooner the better, it concerns your service."

The letter itself runs thus:—To the Kinges Most Excellent Majestie. from my faithfull harte, and loyaltie to your Highnes, the 15 of May laste, I caused a smale pamphlet to be delivered to your owne handes with other particulers, declarringe the corruption and abuse in the election of the knights and Burgesses of parliament, and accordinge to my simple reatche, of the inconveniences and mischeifes accrewinge in a manner generallye, to all your highnes subjects, beside to your Majestie particulerlye, and so to your selfe muche more then to anye whosoever.

Not longe after, when it pleased your highnes to determine to have a parlamente above 9 weekes before the certaine daye appointed when the same shoulde begin, of your Majesties abundante grace and fatherlye care of your subjects and people, you vouchsafed to make it knowne publicklye, thorowe the Realme, yea, to be proclaimed, that knightes and Burgesses etc. of the parlamente should be chosen, and retourned, such persons, and in suche allowable forme, as the anciente lawes of the lande, the worthynes of the kingdome, the reputation of that honorable place, the regallitie and conveniencie annexed to your crowne and Highnes, and the good of eche one, did appointe and expostulate: wherby shoulde also be wyped and clensed awaye the gawles, filth, corruption and ruste too much crepte in, for want of regarde therof amongste that assembly.²

The 19 of the laste monthe, the parliament began, where were retourned and yet remaine, a great number of knightes and Burgesses, as lawfull members as the beste, contrary directlye to the lawes of the Realme and your most gratiouse care and respecte for the generall benefit of all, proclaimed with verye favorable perswasions, annexed with some warninge that he shoulde be punished, as greate reason is, who wolde do contrarye.

Notwithstandinge, some Electors have perhap unwittinglye don amis and others sciently, and likewise of those elected, your princelye wisdom knowes righte well what belongs to bothe.

I with all faithfulness and humilitie beseeche your Highnes to pardon my presumption, to presume in wrytinge in this nature unto your Majestie, when I doe confesse I play Phormio his parte, who toke upon him to reade *Artem Militarem* to Hanniball, who was in a manner the onelye soldiery of the worlde, and the other a simple pedante.

My faith and dutie devoted in all truth to your Majestie and youres, which never shall faile, come to me what will, (and the spleene againste me of some greate personages aboute you, whiche I have don and do feele verye heavily), which, knowing your Heroicall disposition, makes me to dare to take upon me Phormio's office.

At this instante there is, or shoulde be 439 or ther aboute of the common house of parliament, wherof the firste day of the sessions ther were — knightes and Burgesses outlawed, and — knightes and Burgesses otherwise unlawfullye retourned; ³ The lawe is broken: your Highnes authoritie and open divulged proclamation is neglected, to your greate indignitie, yea, and so publicklye as in the common house of parlamente, where that bodye presents the moste parte of the Realme. Your Majestie knowes how perillous it is to let the names oute to suche heades.

Pardon me, good kinge, for my rashnes. If it shall stande with your Majesties pleasure to commaunde to be examined this smale booke of suche knightes and

¹ *State Papers, Domestic, James I*, Vol. 7, No. 82.

² This proclamation was issued on January 11, 1604.

³ Blank in the original.

I am in prison.
I might err in
the nombre but
your hig: may
sone commaunde
y^e truthe to be
brought youe.
Those with —
after their name
I thinke un-
doubtedly are un-
lawfully chosen.

Burgesses as are misborne, I beleive you will finde not fewe of them crepte in by the meanes of some in great credit and nere about your Majestie, if it so fall out they came not in to serve your tourne nor the common wealths, beinge both againste lawe and your Highnes proclamation, but in all likelyhode themselves and their freands who procured their roomes.

In tymes past, not longe nether, but even since a childe and two women raignde, many of the greatest subjects in England were in parliament openlye complained of by ye people whom they had oppressed, tyrannised and misbehaved themselves to ye prince and state, and, called to answer and founde guiltie, were punished accordinglye, diverse of whose cases, if it shall like your Majestie, you may reade in ye next leafe followinge. If particuler subjects may at their pleasures have scope, and doe nominate knightes and Burgesses of parliament, they will keepe them selves for beinge complained of, and if they shoulde so be, finde freandes in corners to pleade and yeilde voices for them, especiallye ye companye swarming with mercynarye lawyers, many of whome can talke and lye well, so as your Highnes and ye common welthe shall many times have what they please to aforde. Let your Majesties loyall subjects have full libertie to complaine, be hearde and righted of those who have wronged and oppressed, and freely againste the greateste subjecte to alledge their undutifull carriages against your Highnes and Justice.

Once againe, good kinge, I must besече pardon to say unto you, That as in this parliament there is nothings in a manner but confusion and insufficiencie, and therefore it is more then muche to be feared that such rootes will carrye like frutes for your Majestie and the state: And whatsoever shall happen them to increase their liberties, were it very preposterous, yt shal be carefullye registred for ever to serve their tournes, wherfore *principiis obstare* so to courbe the unrulye.

May it please your moste excellent Majestie, yf you dissolve the house uppon some cause as shall seeme beste unto you, the mishapen body wil be broken; when your Highnes will, you may sommone it againe.

In the meane tyme you may lett some of the cheife offenders feelee what your proclamation tolde them, to learne them to regarde it more. And I doe not (pardon me, I besече you, good kinge) thinke him a fitt man to be in cōmission of the peace amonge your people or in any service belonginge to your Highnes, who can so contemptuouslye in publicke behave themselves to your Majestie and the plaine lawe: and at the next election, your Majestie shall finde another and a more uniforme bodie of parliament and more correspondente to so worthy a kingdome as this is and so considerate a prince as your Highnes.

The God above poure uppon your Majestie his blessings and favour that by you this longe afflicted lande may receive conforte and releife, to your Highnes glorie and safetie and yours and welfare of your people, by the maintenance and Justice with mercye, and weeding out the ennemyes therto.

28 April, 1604.

Your Majesties most faithful, loyall and dutiful to serve youe,

ARTHUR HALL.

Note of certaine greate subjects of ye lande and others who have answered their misdemeanors in open parliament uppon complainte and have ben judged therby.

.

[List of names follows.]

The knightes, Burgesses, and Barons of the portes, of the house of parliamente. [A long list here follows, with certain names ticked off to indicate the illegality of their election.]

May it please your Highnes, by meanes of my imprisonment, as is said before, I cannot set downe the exacte and full number of suche as are of the lower house, by meanes of being outlawed, unduly retourned and unlawfully chosen, and so no members therof; yet I certainly beleive when the cause is examined, more then the better halfe consists of misbegotten members, to what inconvenience, indignity, and danger to your Highnes sondrye wayes, do your princelye wisdome thinke of.

APPENDIX II.

ARTHUR HALL'S TREATISE ON TRANSPORTABLE COMMODITIES.¹

To the kings most excellent majestie.

Moste gratiouse, and by me onelye respected soveraigne : As I have many yeares disposed my selfe, accordinge to my simple reatche, somewhat to looke into the state of your majesties kingdoms lately most happelye falne unto you :² And in what sorte, it was no better knowne a longe time to the greatest and graveste Governours in them, with such allowance often, as my actions seemed to like them : yet a continual confirmed jealousy they had of an inwarde man in me, which I confesse I did not spare many times to divulge, but nowe will leave unmentioned : assuring my selfe, in my Conscience, that many preposterous Courses were taken. And tho I founde full well I helde a wronge way to thrive, yet supposing I erred not, I chose rather so to remaine, with all mishaps, as is generallye well knowne I have don, then headlongly to run with the highest in authoritie, without respecte of christianitie or humanitie.³

May it please your moste excellent majestie : Altho my feare be verye greate, looking into my owne weaknes, to presume to think that your Highnes wisdom, and most considerate, and grave counsel shold omit, or not mynde, to looke into a matter of so greate importance as I conceive it, touching your majesties three kingdoms, yet havinge hearde that sometime simple men have don acceptable service to moste mightie kings and states, and my devoted dutie to your majestie (wherin to my uttermoste I will never in the leaste joyte faile) violentlye thrustinge me to employe all my powre to serve you, I have dared here to presente to your Highnes no innovation, whiche at your majesties best pleasure you may consider of, or commit the same to others, shall like your Highnes to be examined, wheruppon more may be founde then I have bene able fully to set downe, by meanes of my imprysonment not havinge oportunitie to searche so far as I woulde.

I had thought, most gratiouse soveraigne, to have imparted the matter to her majestie late deade, but knowing howe in a manner she was for the most part alwayes forcibly led by others, and having some three yeares past opened a cause of weighte to the lord Thresorer, which I toke necessitie urged, the same was presentlye effected, to the Quenes greate profitt, and her tourne served ; whiche otherwise wold have falne out verye ill, the same for the embasinge of her coyne in Irelande, which, if wante to furnishe the present warrs had not verrye extraordinarylye forced, wold have seemed greatly inconvenient ; and I never reapinge so muche as thanks.⁴

¹ *British Mus. MSS. Royal*, 18 A, 74.

² James became king on March 24, 1603.

³ Most likely a reference to Hall's protest against the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots. By this means, Hall doubtless hoped to curry favour with James I, her son (see p. 49).

⁴ The wars Hall refers to are those with Spain. James I put an end to hostilities almost immediately after his accession, although peace was not actually concluded till 1604. The expression "the present warrs," used by Hall, shows that the

With all dutie and humilitie, I beseche your Highnes pardon for this my presumption. And the everlasting God, who hath soe happely sente you to these kingdoms of Englande, make your majestie happie alwayes and in all things, and me, your poore subjecte, so happye, as not onelye in this my labour now, but in all actions, I may to your Highnes good likinge serve you in my old dayes.

Your majesties most faithfull, loyal, and dutifull subject, to serve youe,

ART. HALL.

The Principall transportable commodities of the Realme of Englande to be sente to forreine nations.

The cheifest, and greatest commodities of England, most vented out, to the mightie profit of the same, are: wools, fels, clothe, Tin, leade, and leather.

Wools, fels, leade and leather (of leather of late yeares no greate quantitie hath bene to be spared) are all staple wares, to be transported by the marchants of the Corporation of the company of the staple, ether to a lymitted place beyonde the seas, or to some Towne, or Townes, particularly named, within the kingedome, and not els where.

For asmuche as the wools and fels of the Realme were in a manner the onelye or cheifest riches therof, the firste corporation of marchantes that I finde is, of the staple, and that before any vendable clothes into forreine contreyes were made here; Edw. 3, an^o. 11, k: Edw. 3, findinge what greate losse and inconvenience he and his subjects had by the clothinge of ye wools in strange provinces, and his owne people ydle and not sett a worke at home, the 11 yeare of his Raigne, 1337, he caused to be enacted, that all cloth workers of strange lands that wolde come into Englande, Irelande, and Wales etc., shold safely and suerlye, and should be in the kinges safe conduit, and protection, etc. Yea, the kinge gave assurance for the wools they shold worke, till they had made their clothes and were able to paye for them.

These commodities, as is befores ayde, and Tinn, being of the greatest and in a manner onelye importance, to be vented for ye benefit of the lande, were looked into by the greedye men of that age, who sought by all meanes they cold, to bringe the swetenes therof to a fewe mens hands, and therefore procured to them selves from the king a corporation, or fraternitie of pryvilidge, that not any subjecte, or other, but those therof, shold meddle with the commodities belonging to ye staple, to be solde to forreigne nations.

Many yeares since, when clothinge began to florishe, and to be settled in the Realme, there were that followed the course of the staplers aboute some 110 yeares paste. A company purchased and procured a corporation, fraternitie, and fredome, that not any but their companye shold ship clothes and carseies etc., beyonde the seas, which companye was, and is called the old Haunce. A while after, there followed an other, of the newe Haunce, but in effecte as the first, and both are in force.

The like into diverse Contreyes, and traficke, the kinges and quenes of this Realme have graunted. The priviledge to the company of marchantes to Barbary. The like to Moscovy, Russia and Persia. The same to Turkye, and the Easte, and many others. One of late, aboute 3 yeares paste to the East Indies.

treatise must have been written almost as soon as James I ascended the throne. The Lord Treasurer mentioned can hardly have been Burghley, who died in 1598. So either Hall is mistaken in the space of time that had elapsed, or, what is more likely, he is speaking of Burghley's successor, Buckhurst. James I was very averse to all debasing of the coinage, as his proclamation concerning the Irish coinage on October 11, 1603, clearly proves. Had Hall known of the King's views, he would have kept to himself that he was the author of the ruinous scheme. His treatise must therefore have been written before the above-mentioned proclamation.

Edw. 3, an^o. 11, k: Edw. 3, findinge what greate losse and inconvenience he and his subjects had by the clothinge of ye wools in strange provinces, and his owne people ydle and not sett a worke at home, the 11 yeare of his Raigne, 1337, he caused to be enacted, that all cloth workers of strange lands that wolde come into Englande, Irelande, and Wales etc., shold safely and suerlye, and should be in the kinges safe conduit, and protection, etc. Yea, the kinge gave assurance for the wools they shold worke, till they had made their clothes and were able to paye for them.

Staple.

Corporations of marchants.

All these are not procured, served for, and embrased, by peculier men, but for their owne singuler profit, who, severally with their Companye, must reape to them selves the benefit of whole trades, as they were better subjects then the rest, and seclude al other of the lande, as not worthy to enjoye the fredome of the Common wealth, as well as they.

As these corporations and fraternities were for private gaine purchased, so was not that of the staple looked into. After the Civill warrs betwene the factions of Lancaster and Yorke which ended, Counsellors and Governours of base callinge, preferde by ye kinges, mynded onely their own gathering together of riches, and not the common wealthe, as for example, k. Henrye 8, who, notwithstandinge the houghe Threasures left by his father and the admirable abundance he had from the Abbeis and Religious houses in the Realme, was not onelye forced to embase his coyne, but lefte his kingdome in a manner exhausted of the wonted store of gold and silver.

His sayde Counsellors, bribed by forreine princes, perswading him to needlesse warrs, and to leave the amitie with the house of Burgundie, and no provition made to supplye the treasure, which was carryed awaye and consumed.

The inconveniences and harmes which insue by these corporations and peculier privelidges.

The commodities of the Realme to be vented into forreine contreyes, to be lymitted, not to be boughte nor uttered but in a manner by a verrye fewe of the houghe multitude in a greate kingdome, buy what they will, being combined together for their owne profits.

The Marchant Venterer, who ships clothes and carseyes, provides him selfe of the poore clothier, who must needes have monye, to pay numbers of needy people, to feede them selves and their childeren, who worke their clothes in manye and sondrye occupasions.

Also, if the clothiers have not reddye monye in conveniente time to buy their wools, wherof their clothes are made, they shall pay for them muche dearer, and their workfolks therby pinched. The stapler, who sends over wools, woolfels, leather, leade and tinn, take (*sic* !) the same course.

These, and the reste of the like privelidges and corporations, shoffle secreatelye amongste them selves to their owne benefit, what soever become of the Common wealth, and are sworne together not to utter to anye the secreates of their proceedings but in verrye hye pointes, touching the prince.

The other subjects of the lande are excluded, and as strangers, for the use, fruition, and reapinge of the good the sayd lande brings forthe and may spare ; as tho these incorporate persons were of a worthier generation and more to be respected then the reste.

Not anye muste be admitted fre of their companies onlesse they serve for it, or pay for their freedoms, as the sayde Companies shall cease them, wherof no penyce comes to the prince, but all to them selves.

Be it once, twice, or thrise, a yeare, or fowre times, some one or two of these fraternities do by shipping sende over their commodities to certaine appointed places. Many vessals are not employed aboute the busines, because, tho there be houghe masses of commodities to be vented, yet the abilitie of a fewe (and they restrainde to ship but a certaine portion) cannot sende awaye any thinge so muche as the kingdom dothe well aforde, and more wold, if it colde have reddye passage.

Therebye, the commodities of the Realme are not soe benefitfull. The navye, the strengthe of the lande, is not maintained, and lesse, increased, and the fewer marriners, which was founde even in k. Richard the seconds time, the next successor to Edward the thirde.

The kings Custome is muche lesse, yea, and the same defrawd by the secreasie of a fewe, bothe outwarde and inwarde.

No Bullion broughte home, according to the anciente lawes of Englande, which, when it fayled, the golde and silver of the Realme wasted withoute any retourne.

The forreine wares they bringe home with them they price at their pleasures, being in no mans hands but theires, and they so fewe.

The substance of sondrye statutes touchinge the staple, and of the place, for it often changed, and that it hath bene in Englande, and therfore a fitt place for it.

Ann^o 2, Ed. 3,
cap. 9.

The staples beyonde the sea and on this side ordained by the kinges in time paste, and the paines theruppon provided, shall cease, and that all marchante strangers, and priyve, may come and goe with their marchandises into Englande, after the tenure of the greate charter.

Ann^o 27, Ed. 3,
c. 1, stat. staple.

The staple for staple wares to be held in diverse, particuler named Tounes of Englande, Wales, and Irelande.

Ann^o 27, Ed. 3,
c. 18, stat. staple.

It was enacted that because marchante strangers came not so commonlye into Irelande, nor into Wales, for marchandise, as they do into Englande, we will of our espetiall grace, that it shall be lawfull for the people of Irelande and Wales which may not deliver their wools, lether, woolfels, and lead in Irelande and in Wales to marchant strangers, to com with the sayde marchandises, after they be customed and cocketed in Irelande and in Wales, to any of our staples in Englande.

Ann^o 28, Ed. 3.

The staple ordained to abide perpetuallye in Englande.

Ann^o 38, Ed. 3,
cap. 7.

The staple shall be kepte in Englande.

A^o 12, Ri. 2,
cap. 16.

That the staple be removed from Middleborrowe to Calais.

A^o 14, Ri. 2,
cap. 1.

The staple to be removed from Calais into Englande, and that it be holden in the places contained in the statute of the staple, made in the 27 yeare of the kinges Grandfather, that nowe is, and in none other place.

Statutes wherby pryvelidges were graunted to marchante strangers, Aliens and others, to bringe them hether, and to ship oute the commodities of the Realme.

Magna Carta,
9 Hen. 3.

All marchants strangers (not prohibited before) shall have their safe and sure conducte to enter and departe, to goe and tarry in the Realme, as well by lande as by water, to buy and sell without any manner of evell Tols; by the olde and rightfull customs (excepte in the time of warr).

Ann^o 2, Ed. 3,
cap. 9.

Marchante strangers to come into Englande with their marchandise, accordinge to the tenure of the great charter.

Ann^o 9, Ed. 3,
cap. 1.

All marchante strangers and Denisens, and all other and everye of them etc. that will buy or sell, corne, wine, aver de poyss fleash, fishe, and all other livings, and vituall, wools, clothes, and all other things vendible, from whence so ever they come, by forreines or Denisens, at what place so ever it be, Cittie, Borrowghe, Towne, Porte of the sea, faire, market, or els where within the Realme, within franchises or without, may freely without interruption sell them to what person it shall please them, as well to forreines as Denisens (the kinges ennemyes excepte) with a clause, if any disturbance were don to anye of them, soare punishments were appointed for y^e offenders.

Ann^o 9, Ed. 3,
cap. 2.

It was enacted uppon paine, no Alien nor Denison shal be trobled, but that he maye freelye buy suche things aforesayde in the sayde places, and carrye them where it pleaseth him, to his owne use, or to the profit of the king, or of the greate men, or the commons of the Realme, saving that suche marchants, Aliens, shall carrye no wine out of the same Realme etc., notwithstandinge charters of franchise graunted to the contrarye etc., which charters, usages, and Customs, if any be, our soveraigne lord the king, his prelates, Earles, Barrons, great men and the commons aforesayde

holdeth them of no force nor effecte, as things graunted, used or accustomed, to the Charters etc. derogation of the king and of his prelates, Earles, Barrons, and great men of his prejudiciall to Realme, and to the oppression of the Commons. the common wealtthe.

All marchants, Denisens, and forreines, (ennemyes excepte) may without let, An^o 14, Ed. 3, safely come into the Realme of England, with their goods and merchandise, and ca. 2, sta. 2. safely tary, and safely retorne, paying the customs, subsidies, and other profits, reasonably therof due (franchises to the cittie of London etc. before graunted, saved).

After the feast of St. Michell, everye marchante of the Realm and other may An^o 15, Ed. 3, freelye sell and buy, and pas the sea with their marchandises of wools, and all other cap. 5. thinges, paying the customs of old time used etc.

It was enacted that the statute made 9^o Ed. 3, ca. 1, in all pointes and Articles An^o 25, Ed. 3, contained in the same, be holden, kept, and maintained, and if that any statute, cap. 2. charter, etc. be made to be contrarye, shal be openlye repealed, voyde, and holden for none, and then are repeated the pointes of the statute.

To replenishe the sayde Realme and lands of monye, and of plate, of golde, An^o 27, Ed. 3, and silver, and marchandises of other lands, and to give corrage to marchante cap. 2. strangers. All marchant strangers, not ennemyes, of what land or nation that they be, may safelye and suerlye, under our protection and safe conduct, come and dwell in our Realme and landes, where they will, and thether to retourne, with If this care were had of strangers, what more is to be had of the nations of your kingdomes. their ships, wares, and all manner of marchandises, and freelye sell them at the staple and els where within the Realme, to anye will buy them, payinge the customs therof due, and this was enacted upon paine, for injoyeinge this graunte.

All marchants, as well Aliens as Denisons, may buy wools, leather, woolfels, An^o 27, Ed. 3, and leade, thorowe our Realme and lands, without covin or collusion to abate the cap. 3. price of ye sayde marchandises.

Because we have taken all the marchante strangers in our sayde Realme and An^o 27, Ed. 3, lands into our spetiall protection and, more over, graunted to doe to them spedie C. 20, sta. stap. remedye of the greivances, if anye be to them don, we have ordained and established etc. that if any outrage etc. be don them in the contreye etc., the Justices of the place etc. shal doe speedy Justice.

That no Mayor of the staple holde the office over a yeaere, onelesse he be new- An^o 27, Ed. 3, lye chousen by the commynaltie of the marchants, as well of strangers as Denisons. cap. 21, sta. stap.

In everye place where the staple shal be holden, there shal be a certaine An^o 27, Ed. 3, number of correctors, as well of strangers as of pryvies. 24 sta. stap.

The marchante strangers shal chouse 2 marchant strangers, wherof the one An^o 27, Ed. 3, towarde the southe and the other towards the northe, shal be assigned to sit with C. 24, sta. stap. the mayor and constables of the staple, where some of those persons chosen shall come to heare the plaintes touching marchant Aliens, that shal be moved before the Mayor etc. and to see that plaine righte may be don to the sayde marchante Aliens etc., and if any debate rise uppon the discursing of any plea or quarrell, shall be sente before the chauncellor and other of our Counsell, to be determynd there without delaye, and also six persons shal be chosen, that is to saye, 4 Alyens, wherof 2 shall be of Almaine, 2 of Lomberdye, and 2 of England etc., who shall sweare that they shall well and lawefully doe their office, that is to saye, when any question or debate shall rise etc., that then the sayde persons, or 4 of them, may before the mayor of the staple etc. by their othe saye and amende as reason will, and theruppon credence shal be given to them without any Contradiction.

It is contained in the charter of our Grandfather, graunted to the marchante An^o 27, Ed. 3, strangers and by us confirmed, that of marchandises whiche they shall bringe into cap. 16. the sayd Realme and lands, and wherof iij^d in the pounce oughte to be payd by the sayde marchante strangers, accordinge to the same graunte, faythe and credence shold be given them etc. for the quicke sayle of their marchandise, and that uppon great paine.

An^o 28, Ed. 3,
cap. 11.

Our soveraigne lord the king, consideringe the profit whiche maye come to the sayde Realme, by comminge and abidinge of marchante Aliens in the same Realme and the damage etc. which to them is don, and willinge to provide for the suertie etc. of marchants and others, have ordained etc. to the intende that marchante Aliens shall have the greater will and Courage to come into the same Realme of Englande and that remedye etc., from henceforthe be spedelye made to suche marchants etc.

An^o 36, Ed. 3,
cap. 7.

It was enacted that marchant Aliens, be they plaintifes or defendants, may sewe the plaints and quarrels, as well of trespas as of other that they will, before the mayor of the staple, by the lawe of the staple, or els where at the common lawe, as is contained in the statute of the staple.

edem, ca. 11.

That the marchante Denisons may pas with their wools, as well as the forreines.

An^o 38, Ed. 3,
cap. 2.
Here strangers
have more lib-
ertie then Eng-
lishes. The re-
strainte surely
was that y^e
strangers shold
buy in the
Realme wool,
woolfels, etc.

All manner of marchants, as wel Aliens as Denisons, may sell and buy all manner of merchandises, and freelye carry them out of this Realme, paying the customs and subsidies therof due, excepte that the Englishe marchants shal not pas out of this Realme with wool and woolfels, ca. 7, that the staple be kepte in Englande.

An^o 43, Ed. 3,
cap. 1.

That all marchants aliens and Denisons, may frelye goe throwghe England, Irelande and Wales, and buy and sell wools, woolfels, and leather, and all other marchandise at their will, without impeachment etc., so that no wools etc. shall pas out of the Realme of England etc., till they be broughte to the staple, and there weyed, cocketed, and customed.

An^o 2, Ri. 2,
cap. 1.

Our soveraigne lord the king, consideringe clearelye the cominge of marchant strangers within the Realme to be profitable for many causes, to all the Realme, hath ordained that all strangers marchants (but the kinges Ennemyes) have freedome to bring in, sell and buy, all manner of wares, yea, wools, fels, within franchises and without etc. And it is not the kinges mynde that the marchante strangers and Denisons, that will buy and sell their woolfels etc., (as other merchandises) at faires and markets in the Contreye, shold be restrained or disturbed by this statute, to sell or buye, freelye in grosse or at retayle, as they were wonte to doe hearetofore.

An^o 2, Ri. 2,
cap. 3.

That all marchantes of Jeane, Venice, Cataloine and Aragon, and of other Realmes etc. towarde the west, being of the kinges amitie, that will bringe to Hampton or els where within the Realme, carracks, ship, etc., charged or discharged, may freelye sell their merchandises to whom please them, by the manner as before is sayde, and there recharge their vessels of wools, leather, and woolfels, tin, and of other merchandises of the staple, and frelye bring them into their contreye towarde the weste, payinge all manner of customes and subsidies and other duties of Callice, as muche as they shold pay, if they should bringe the same marchandise to the staple of Callice, so that they finde sufficiente suertie that they shall bringe the same towarde the weste and to no place els where towarde the East but to the staple of Callice; yf percase the (*sic*!) will goe, uppon paine of forfeiture, ordained before this tyme.

Because our
clothes here
sholde be better
vented and in the
Easte, not those
in y^e low con-
treys to clothe
our wools and
hinder the sale
of them.

An^o 5, Ri. 2,
cap. 1.

That all manner of marchante strangers, of what soever contreye or nation they be, beinge of the amitie of the king and his Realme, shal be welcome, and freelye may come within the Realme of Englande, and els where within the kinges powre, as well within franchises as withoute, and there to be conversante to marchandise, and tarrye as longe as them liketh, they are taken in the kinges protection, that they be frendly intreated and peaceablye suffered to retourne.

A^o 5, Ri. 2,
cap. 2.

That the passage of wools, lether, woolfels, be open to all manner of marchants and others, as well forreine as Denisenz, that will buy the same, and reddelye pay in hande the customes, subsidies, etc., and in the meane time limited, they, and no other, may ship and carrye etc., and who shold pay before in hande the subsidies and customs for the wool, leather and woolfels, which they will to be carryed beyonde the sea betwixte a certaine time followinge, shold have his pardon and

release of halfe a marke of everye sacke of wooll, and so proportionallye of the reste, and therewith that theye and everye of them shall have freelye the passage of the same their woolls, leather etc. at large, where, and they will duringe the time set downe.

That all marchante strangers, Aliens and Denizens, and all other etc. which will buy or sell corne, wyne, avoyr de poys fleashe, fishe, and all other vitayles, wool, cloathes, wares, marchandises, and all other things vendible etc., to what place, that it be Cittie, etc., porte of the sea, fayre, etc., within franchise or withoute, may freelye etc. sell the same to whome please them, as well to forreines as Denizens, except ye kinges ennemyes.

An^o 11, Ri. 2, cap. 11.

That no Denisen bringe woolls, leather, woolfels, nor leade out of the Realme of Englande, to the parts beyonde the sea, uppon forfeiture of the same, but onelye strangers.

An^o 14, Ri. 2, cap. 2. Greate freedome for strangers.

To kepe the hie prices of woolls the better, none shall buy woolls but of the owners of the shepe and of the tythes excepte in the staple, etc.

An^o 14, Ri. 2, cap. 2.

Every exchange that shal be made to Rome or els where, that the marchants be firmlye and surelye bounden in the chauncerye, to buy within 3 months after the exchange made marchandise of the staple, as woolls, leather, woolfels, lead or Tinn etc., cloaths or other commodities of the lande, to the vallowe of the somme so changed.

An^o 14, Ri. 2, cap. 5.

That marchante strangers repaireinge to the Realme of Englande shal be well and courteouslye and rightfullye intreated and governed in the sayde Realme, to the intente they shall have the greater Courage to repaire into the same.

An^o 14, Ri. 2, cap. 9.

Tin, by all marchants Denisons and Aliens, at large to be laden in shippis and other vessels, to cary out of the Realme into what haven they will chouse within the Realme, and to what parte it will please them, but to goe to Callice while the resorte of wool was there, payinge alwayes the subsidies, customes etc. therof due, before the passage of the sayde Tinn.

An^o 15, Ri. 2, cap. 8.

This custome may be payde when it shall please y^e prince.

Wheras it was used that clothiers etc. shold sell their cloathes etc. onelye to Londoners, to the greate hinderance of manye, it was enacted that as well clothe makers and cloth sellers as other marchants with their sondrye marchandises, as wine etc., shal be free to sell in grosse their clothes etc. as wel to the kinges leige people as to the citisins of London, notwithstanding any franchise or libertie what soever.

An^o 7, H. 4, cap. 9.

That everye marchante, as well Denisen as Alien, may freelye and safelye shipp woolls, lether, woolfels and other marchandises of the staple in the porte of Welcomb in the countie of Dorcet and from thence to bringe them to the staple of Callice, paying the subsidies and customs due to the king.

An^o 6, H. 6, cap. 6.

The Anciente statute lawes which also prove the liberties forreines and Aliens had in this Realme to buye: And what they and the native contrey marchants did pay to the prince for the marchandises of the staple, before and after clothinge was stablished in England, and what Bullion should be broughte in for the commodities of the staple, and that y^e prices of wool shoulde be inhaunced and not abated.

We, nor our heires, shall demaunde no asseesse, nor take nor cause to be taken more of the Custome of one sacke of wool, of no English man, but onelye halfe a marke, and of 400 fels halfe a marke, and of a laste of leather one marke, for the Custome onelye and the sacke ought to containe 26 stone, every stone 14 pounce, and that everye one that passeth woolls beyond the sea, English man or other, resiante, inhabitinge and repaireinge into Englande, shall finde good and sufficiente suertie to the customers before his passinge, to bringe againe of everye sacke of wool, plate of silver to the vallowe of two markes, within 3 months after that the woolls so charged shall passe out of the porte, and the same plate to be broughte to the kinges exchange, and there to receive his monye, that is to say, 2 marks. And

An^o 14, Ed. 3, c. 4, sta. proloto.

A marke was then 13s. 4d. after the rate now it is 40s.

An ounce of silver was then five groates, 20 pence. Now it is five shillings.

the Customer of the porte, where the wools shal be so charged, shall take of them in whose names the wool shal be so charged suertie, for whome they will answer, to bringe againe plate in forme aforesayde.

An^o 14, Ed. 3.
cap. 21.

It was enacted that all men, strangers or other shipping wools out of the Realme, shal, before they goe, put in suerties to bringe for everye sacke of wool, whiche is 26 stone, every stone 14 pounce, plate of silver to the vallew of 2 markes, the same to be broughte to the exchange.

An^o 27, Ed. 3.
cap. 21.

It was enacted that not any of the kinges subjects shold transporte wool etc. but bringe it to the staple, nether to take beyonde the seas for wool etc., other marchandise then golde or silver, but onely in the Realme of England.

An^o 31, Ed. 3.
cap. 2.
Wools and
cloeths, the
higher prices
they are at, the
better for the
common wealth.

Wheras at the greivous complainte of the commons of the Realme, it was shewed that the marchantes which buy wools in faires and markets and other places, by covin and consente betwixte them, do abate the price of wools, etc., it is according that proclimation be made thorowe the Realme that no marchante do suche covin, uppon a greivous forfeiture.

A groate then is
nowe a shilling.
Silver was at five
groates an
ounce; it is nowe
at 5 shillings.

It was accorded and assented for the common profit etc., that everye marchante and other, as well Alyen as Denisen, may bringe to the parties beyonde the sea, which be of the kinges amitie, wools, leather, and woolfels, from the fift daye of maye nexte cominge to the feaste of St. Michel next ensuing, payinge for everye sacke 50s. and for 300 woolfels 50s. and for the laste of leather roos. for the custome and subsedye of the same.

An^o 2, H. 5.
cap. 6.

Marchants of Jeane, etc. at Hampton to sell all their marchandises to whome they wolde, and recharge their ships with wools, leather, woolfels, leade, and tinn, and other marchandises of the staple, and freelye bringe them into their contrey towarde the weste, after the forme of the statute therof made the seconde yeare of k. Richard 2.

An^o 8, H. 5.
cap. 2.

It was enacted that everye marchante stranger buyinge wools in England, not comming to the staple there to be solde, shall bringe to the maister of the minte to the Towre of London, of everye sacke of wooll, whiche is as aforesayde 26 stone, everye stone 14 poundes, and in the same manner of 3 peeces of Tin, one ounce (*sic*!) of Bullion of golde, or the vallew of Bullion of silver, uppon the paine of forfeiture of the vallew of the sayde Tin and wooll.

An^o 8, H. 6.
cap. 18.

It was enacted that the whole payment for wooll, woolfels and Tinn, be in hande in golde and silver, without subiltie or collusion, that the Bullion be brought to the minte at Callice, *viz.* for everye surplus of wooll, wherof the weighte of the sacke is sold for 12 markes, 6 lbs., ten markes, 5 lbs., eighte markes, 4 lbs., and after the woolfels, after the rate. That no marchante seller shal lende the buyer of wools etc. any monye of what was receaved for the sayde wools, etc., but that the same monye be broughte to the minte at Callice in Bullion, to be coyned.

The rate of this
money was after
8^d an ounce.

That the vallew of the thirde parte of wools etc., solde at Callice should be brought to the minte at Callice in Bullion, to be coyned.

An^o 20, H. 6.
cap. 1.

That no marchante of the staple at Callice by him selfe etc. sell, or utter any marchandise of the staple, but that he before, or uppon the deliverye of the same, receave and take reddey paymente and contentation for the same wools, woolfels, marchandises of the sayde staple in hande, wherof the halfe shal be of lawfull monye of England, plate or Bullion of silver and golde, and all the same monye dulye bringe into the Realme of Englande, and the plate and Bullion so receaved, do dulye to be coyned at the mint of Callice, and all the monye therof made dulye bringe into Englande, within 3 months after the sayde sayle, under greate paine.

An^o 3, Ed. 4.
cap. 1.

The statutes and lawes which have bene made for the encrease of shippes and shippinge, whiche were forced to be made cheiflye since the incorporations of marchants.

An^o 5, Ri. 2.
cap. 3.

To encrease the navye of Englande, whiche is nowe greatly diminished, it is assented and accorded that none of ye kinges leige people do from henseforth

shipp any marchandise in going out, or comminge within the Realme of England, in any porte, but onely in shippes of the kinges leigeance etc. uppon forfeiture of all marchandises, shipped in shippes not of the kinges liegance.

All the marchants of England shall fraighte in the same Realme the shippes of the same Realme and not the ships of strangers, so that the owners of the sayde shippes take reasonable for their freight. An^o 14, Ri. 2, cap. 6.

Because of the greate decaye of the navye, etc., it was enacted that no person of what condition, etc., he be of, buy or sell within this sayde Realme, Irelande, Wales, etc. any manner wines, etc. but suche wines as shal be adventured and broughte in an Englishe, Irishe, Welshe mans ship or ships, and withe the marriners of the same be English, Irish or Welshmen for the more partie, etc. An^o 1, H. 7, cap. 8.

It was enacted that everye person and persons, that is or be strangers or Aliens etc., beinge Denizens or not Denizens, their factors etc. at any time hereafter do lade any wares, goods or marchandise, of what kinde etc. soever it shal be, in any ship, bottome or vessell of the Realme of England, commonlye called an English ship, bottome or vessell, duringe the time etc. of the sayd proclamation shall not be compelled to paye or cause to be payde any other custome or subsedye, but accordinge to the sayde proclamation, (*viz.*, which was that strangers etc. shoulde pay no more or larger custome and subsidie then the kinges loving and naturall subjects then used etc.), and in case any stranger or Alien, borne out of this Realme of England, etc. beinge Denizen or not Denizen, at any time hereafter freight or lade etc. any ship, bottome, or vessell of any stranger etc. with wares or marchandises from this Realme of Englande to any outwarde parts, that then the same stranger or Alien shall content and pay etc. to the king his successors etc. all suche and like customes and subsidies as strangers and Aliens, borne in other Realmes, have used to paye, accordinge to anciente customs etc. of the Realme. If there wanted English ships, they should give notice to the Admiral or his deputie etc. and for wante of Englishe ships, they mighte transporte in strange bottoms. The marchants of the Stilyards were excepted. An^o 32, H. 8, cap. 14.

Ether bynde them directly to lade in Englishe, etc. ships, or inhance their custome more.

The Scots be now no strangers, nether have the Irishes longe bene.

Every person and persons, beinge owner or owners of any goods, wares or marchandises etc. shall in tyme of peace, and when there is no restraunte made of English shippes, embarke, ship, lade, or discharge, by waye of marchandise, any wares or marchandises (mastraffe, pitche etc. excepted) out of, or into any ship, barke, boy, vessell, or bottome wherof our soveraigne ladye the Quene, her heires, etc., or somme of her or their subjects of this Realme, or the dominions of ye same, and not possessioners or proprietaryes, and the maisters, under God, and the mariners of the same shipp, and shippes, for the moste parte be not subjects of our sayde soveraigne ladye the Quene, her heires etc., shall answer, yeilde, and paye to the use of our sayde soveraigne ladye etc. suche custome and subsidies, for suche wares and marchandises, so shipped, laden, or discharged, as is aforesayde, rate and rate alike, as strangers and Aliens, borne out of the obeysance, doe and oughte to pay for wares, and marchandises of the lyke nature and kinde. An^o 1, Eli. cap. 14.

That no person or persons what soever shall bringe into this Realme of England or any part of the same any wine cominge oute of the dominions or Contreys belonging to the crowne of France, or any woad called Tholouse woad, in any other vessell or vessells, wherof some subjecte or subjects of ye Quenes majestie, her heires or successors, shal be then onely owner, or parte owner, uppon paine to forfeit all wines and woad brought contrarye to the meaninge hereof, according to the meaninge of a statute made in the time of the Raigne of k. Henry 7. An^o 5, Eli. cap. 5.

It was enacted also there when it was lawfull to ship corne beyonde the seas, it being at a certaine price, ye same shold be shipped in ships, crayers and other vessels, wherof any Englishe borne subjecte then shal be the onely owners. An^o 4, H. 7, cap. 10.

The estimation in parte of what mightie mas of monye and Bullion shall be yearlye broughte into your majesties kingdome, onely of Englande, for the commodities therof, whiche may be spared.

Ed. 3. King Edward 3, the 30th of his Raigne, had for 6 yeares graunted him 50s. for everye sacke of wooll, 50s. of 300 woolfels and 5*℥* for a laste of leather.

Silver was then 20*d*. an ounce, now at 5*s*. Gold fine as ther was no other at 20*s*. an ounce, nowe at 3*℥*. There wente then yearlye out of the Realme 100,000 sacks of wool, so as monye is vallewad at this daye, for woolls onelye came to the kings coffers 750,000*℥* yearlye, beside woolfels and leather, which must needes amount to mightie sommes.

Looke on your lawe that an ounce of golde, or the rate in silver, shoulde be broughte in for everye sacke of wooll, and soe accordinge for woolfels, leade, Tin and leather.

Gold and silver by meanes of the late founde Indies are more plentie then they were before. There wente out yearlye, by estimation, in wool, as is sayde, 100,000 sacks. For every sacke shold be brought in an ounce of golde, or the vallew in silver, which, according to ye accompt of monye, nowe onelye for woolls drawes to 300,000*℥*, not accomptinge any thinge for woolfels, tin, leade nor leather, matters of greate importance, especiallye woolfels.

If you will, y^e strangers may be bounde to bringe in more. Bynd the home marchante nowe, as he then was, to bring at the leaste his ounces, as it is sayde, in fine Bullion of gold and silver, as well for your woolfels, lether etc. as for your woolls, which, accordinge to their proportions, are by lawe to answer the same Bullion to be broughte in.

It may be alledged, clothes etc. are wroughte in England, as they were not so fullye in the 30 yeare of k. Edw. 3, and therefore less wool shipt, but allowe the greate decaye of tillage and multitude of shepe therby, and then no doubt there is greate plentie to send in wool and also to make clothes, carseys, etc.

If not the stapler, let the shippers of cloathes, carseyes, wool, woolfels, leade etc., as well strangers as leiges, and suche as venture them, be bound to bringe home Bullion accordinge to the proportion of the clothes, carseyes, etc., as the stapler was bounde to do for his woolls etc. which he sente over.

The commodities will be had awaye at hie prices, & Bullion and mony plentifully broughtin. Let them, strangers and all naturall subjects, have leave to come, goe, to buy cloathes, carseyes, bays, cottons etc., woll, woolfels, tin, leade, leather etc., as in forreine yeares, by ye lawes of the lande they had, byndinge them to bringe in Bullion, as by former lawes they are, or rather more, and at certaine portes appointed to ship those commodities awaye.

If you shall receave all in good coyne or Bullion, as the lawes bynde the marchant to paye, when he buyes woolls, onelye omittinge woolfels, leather, leade, and Tin, and if it fayle in woolls it is supplied in cloth, Carseys, bays, cottons etc., make your accompte. There is never a sacke of wool, containeing 26 stone, everye stone 14 poundes, but after 10*s*. y^e stone, which is the lowest packinge marchandable (if I be not muche disceaved), for the stapler cannot ship under casten wool, which is a smale portion to the multitude of woolls, which is at the leaste at 10*s*. a stone, other some they sell for 20*s*. the stone, and other somme for much more, as they buy dearer in Englande accordinge to the finesse of the woolls and contreyes where they growe. But the stapler hathe for what we call a pounde, 20*s*., a greate reckoninge.

Allow all sacks of wooll of the weighte aforesayde but at 14*℥* the sacke, which is not eleven shillings the stone.

No doubt there is as much and more wool growing now in Englande then ever there was, yf it be not uttered in wool, it is in Cloth, Carseys, etc. A hondred thousande sackes to be shipte yearlye, as is sayd, if not in wooll, in clothes, Carseyes etc., yf all be payd in Bullion or reddy monye, amountes yearlye unto 1,400,000*℥*. Take but a third parte of this, to be payde in Bullion or reddy monye, coms yearlye unto 466,666*℥* 13*s*. 4*d*.

The reste of the staple commodities not reckoned, as wool fels etc. beside the ounces of Bullion not accompted to be broughte in for everye sacke. As is sayd, what wantes in woolls is shipte in clothes, carseys etc.

That wools, cloathes, Carseyes etc. are more used by forreines nations then ever were, the innumerable, newe found people, used to goe naked and many of them nowe clothed, declare, beside by our late traficke into the Easte they are greatlye vented.

To prove that in k. Edw. the thirds time, onelye by wools and staple marchandise, this Realme was largelye furnished with gold and silver and the same most fine, not drawing in a manner any out of the mynes of his owne lande, and that since those courses fayled, the sayde mettals have bene wasted without helpe or supplye of them any waye.

This kinge Edward 3, notwithstanding his longe and many forreine wars, coyned in his time in his kingdome more mony then all the princes after the Conqueste before him, and lefte more in the lande by nombers of thousands then any one kinge before him; all whiche was brought in after he had made his lawes for the bringing in of Bullion and receaving reddyde monye for the commodities of the staple. And therby his successors kinges did many yeares furnishe their Realme accordinglye.

Moreover, in those kinges dayes by the same meanes, the riches in golde and silver in Abbeyes and houses of Religion, wherof was greate numbers, was inestimable.

After the Portingales had wroughte greate feates in the souht (*sic* !), held diverse places there and conquered in Africke aboute anno 1460 and the Easte Indies, or rather some pece of them, golde grewe more plentie, but in muche more abundance, and also silver a while after, when the west Indies were 1492 discovered by Collunus.

Then sith there is more abundance and store of gold and silver in these dayes, and the reasons shewed whye, what is the cause, according to the sayde proportion of plentie, that this kingdom shold not unmeasurablye so much more abound as the occasions of the so mightie plentie of those 2 metales do yeild? Indeede, it cannot be denyed but there is more of them in coyne nowe in the Realme then was before the sayde Indies were possessed and the Religious houses pluckt down.

The kingdoms of Englande and Irelande yeild nether gold nor silver in any quantitie, then it is to be drawne by means from the princes, who are maisters of the mynes where those mettals are had, to procure the whiche there is no waye but by sale and vente of the commodities of your majesties kingdoms, which commodities, gold and silver excepte, are as abundante, as pretiouse, and of forreine nations as muche requested, as any whatsoever.

After the corporation of the marchante venturers were erected aboute 110 yeares paste by k. Hen. 7, mony and Bullion was not onely exhausted out of the lande, but the navye muche decayed.

Mony so muche, as if the sayde king had not bene a verrye good husbände and gathered coyne somewhat hardelye, he had not left such mightie Treasures to his sonne succeeded.

His sonne Henrye the 8 sone wasted it and because there was no meane soughte to bringe in and restore from other contreyes the want and neede, the sayde k. Hen. toke into his hands the incredible and inestimable riches of all Abbeyes, monasteries and Religious houses etc., which notwithstandinge, because no care nor provision was made to bringe in and procure releife to this wound, in the end he was driven (a most pitiful case, if extremitie did not force it) to inhance, yea, and to smale vallew to embase his coyne.

The traficke longe broken betwene the house of Burgundye, Spaine, and this Realme, had made it fele the wante of gold and silver, had not muche bene supplied, some by honorable purchase, and not a little by plaine theft and piracie, which never thelesse hath coste many a valliant mans lyfe, dearer then golde to moste hye and honorable mynded kinges.

If libertie be graunted to strangers and all men to transport the commodities of the kingdomes may be spared, they will plentifully bring it in.

An estimate howe muche your Highnes custome hath bene, and sholde be, yearelye, for woolls, clothes, carseys, Bayes, cottons etc. and howe little it nowe is, yet more woolls growing in the land then ever was.

All the Customes of the whole Realme of Englande and Waeles amounts not yearelye unto 127,000*£*, wherout the allowances, fees, etc. taken, it drawes not unto 123,000*£*, and of the sayde somme of 123,000*£* for custome for clothe, carseys, cotton etc. *communibus Annis* is 34,000*£* and perhap some smale matter more in some fewe by ports; of woolls, woolfels, not so muche as beares the fees of your majesties officers and other charges.

In the 30th yeare of k. Edw. 3, as before is declared, in wool onelye, there wente oute 100,000 sacks, every sacke containing 26 stone, everye stone 14 pounde. The custome which the stapler then payde was halfe a marke. Strangers payd double, which was a marke. Halfe a marke then was an oble, 6*s*. 8*d*., which, after the accompte the monye nowe, silver being at 5*s*. an ounce and then but at 5 groats, is 20*s*. and the stranger after that accompte payd 40*s*. So as the onelye custome for wooll then, if it were all payde by the subjecte came too 100,000 nobels. Every sacke was 6*s*. 8*d*. of that olde accompte of monye, beside woolfels, leather, tin, leade, which were not accompted.

The subsidie *ex antiquo* beside the Custome was for everye sacke of wool aforesayde to be payde by the Englishe marchant, 33*s*. 4*d*. 33*s*. 4*d*. for eche sacke, there beinge 100,000 sacks transported, amounts unto 166,666*£* 13*s*. 4*d*., wherto ad ye old Custome of a noble, 100,000 nobels *viz.*, which for everye sacke in the whole 40*s*. for the English marchant to paye coms unto 200,000*£*, all for subsideye and custome to be payde, besides woolfels, lether, tin, leade, which were not accompted.

The stranger payes subsideye for everye sacke of wool *£*3 6*s*. 8*d*., which is double, and for the Custome a marke, which is *£*4 of the monye of 20*d*. an ounce, which nowe at 5*s*. is *£*12. So for custome and subsideye, for a sacke of wool he payes *£*12.

* If all strangers in leage and subjects may have libertie to transport whether they will, to nations in freendship, moch of this will be recovered, if not increased.

No man doubts but there is asmuche and more wool nowe growing in England at this time then was in k. Edw. 3 time.* If it be not nowe shipte fourthe in woolls, it is in clothes, Carseyes, Cottons, Bayes, etc. and from 200,000*£* yearelye custome and subsideye for woolls, there is in the whole yearelye for clothes, Carseyes etc. but aboute 34,000*£* for wooll, and woolfels as aforesayd yeilds not so muche profit nowe in custom or subsideye as will defraye the charges of the officers about it.

So as of 200,000*£* yeare by yeare, which was comminge to the kinges coffers from the Englishe marchante at 40*s*. a sacke, after the rate of monye of 20*d*. an ounce, you nowe have not above 34,000*£* yearelye at monye after 5*s*. the ounce, which accordinge to the former worthe is but 11,333*£* 6*s*. 8*d*. So as, nowe receavinge but 34,000*£*, you are abated of ye ancienne receyte for eche yeare,† the mony after 5*s*. an ounce, 166,000*£*. And after the accompte of monye at 20*d*. an ounce, as it was usuallie payd, in your nowe Custome and subsideye of 34,000*£*, there is yearelye loste 22,666*£* 13*s*. 4*d*.

In a sacke of wool is 364 pounde; 90 pounde of wooll makes a broade clothe of 28 yards longe, 3 Carseys goes to a clothe, and the like proportion in cottons, Bays, etc. So of a sacke of wool are made 4 broade cloathes, onelye 4*l*. over in the whole sacke, and accordinglye for the reste. There is at the moste for custome and subsideye but a noble payde, so as, of a sacke of wooll, made in cloth, carseys, etc. yeilds your majestie but 26*s*. 8*d*., whereas the ancient custome and subsidie of everye sacke of wooll was of the Englishe stapler 40*s*., at monye at 20*d*. an ounce, beside the bringing in of Bullion etc. Beside, for the tenth[‡] cloth shipte, the Englishe marchant payes not any thinge.

The Englishe marchante payde *ex antiquo* custome for a sacke of wool 6*s*. 8*d*., whiche according to the rate of monye now, is 20*s*. For the subsidie of a sacke of

† In a booke of rates at the custome house of London is set doune 40*s*. custome and subsidie for everye sacke of wooll wherof are made 4 clothes, which in shew answers 4 nobles, but then they charge some of their clothes more then others, which nevertheless are reduced to an equalitie, and yet pay after 40*s*. custome and subsideye for a sacke of wooll made in cloth.

‡ Here is the tenth of your custom & subsidey lost.

wooll, he payde also 33s. 4d., bothe which sommes rise to 40s. for a sacke, whiche
 40s., as monye is rated nowe, amounts to £6 a sacke, which for 100,000 sacks
 yeaerlye shipt in woolls, or in clothes etc., makes 600,000£, wherof you have aboute
 11,333£ 6s. and 8d. as is sayde of ancient mony and 34,000£ of mony nowe.

It may be alledged that it were an excessive charge to the marchante to pay
 custome and subsedye for carrying beyonde the seas every sacke of wooll. § No, for
 they receive in the accompte of their 20s. or pound so much more then a pounde
 is here as will double answer the Custome and subsedy. The like may be sayde for
 the marchant stranger or Denison payes for a sacke of wooll double both in custome
 and subsedy which the English marchant doth. So as, for everye sacke he trans-
 ports, he payd for custome of that mony of 20d. an ounce a marke, which is 40s. and
 of every sacke for subsedye £3 6s. 8d. of the sayde monye, as the rate goes nowe is
 £10,|| so as he shold nowe paye £12 for everye sacke of wooll transported, for custom
 and subsedye.

§ Monye is more
 plentie nowe by
 the findinge of
 the Easte and
 West Indies, and
 more people
 clothed and
 therfor the cus-
 tomes nor sub-
 sedies to be
 abated but in-
 creased, bothe
 for the English
 marchant &
 strangers.

|| If the stranger
 pay not his full
 custome and
 subsedye in
 woolls, let him
 do it accordinglye
 in clothe.

Many of the strangers had rather have your woolls then clothes, because they
 wold them selves dispose the working of them to their most profit: and
 what they buy here tho they pay doble custome, they save it in payinge
 the stapler, who must for a pound, 20s., be answered a far hyer somme, as
 is sayde, and here the stranger shall pay but his plaine 20s. for a pound,
 buying woolls.

In a sarpler of wooll is thre sacks, in everye sacke 26 stone at 14 pounde the
 stone, whiche makes 264 lbs., so as there is in a sarpler of wooll 78 stone and 792
 lbs.

Eche sacke of wooll will make 4 broade cloathes of 28 yards longe and 4 pounde
 over, so a sarpler will make 12 such clothes and twelve pounde over.

Accompte your stone of wooll at 15s., a hye price, for there is many tymes good
 boughte for 10s. and under, but some is dearer then 15s., which make clothes of
 greater prices far. So at 15s. a stone of wooll, a sacke costs of him that growes it
 £19 10s. and so the whole sarpler £58 10s.

Of this sarpler of wooll costinge £58 10s. there are twelve broade cloaths made
 of 28 yards longe, 12 poundes of wooll over.

Everye yarde of clothe made of such like wooll wil be worthe 15s. a yarde.
 Ech clothe, at that reckoninge at 15s. a yarde, is worthe £21. The sacke of wooll
 is 26 stone, 14 lbs. to the stone. At 15s. a stone, the sacke coms unto £19 10s.
 Thre sacks goes to a sarpler, which after that rate is £58 10. as aforesayde.

The Sarpler will make 12 broad cloathes of 28 yardes longe, everye yarde worthe
 15s. at that price of wooll and 12 pounde over in wooll. Ech cloth at that reckoning
 of 15s. a yarde is worth £21.

So of your Sarpler of wooll you make asmuche clothe, viz. 12 peeces, as rises
 unto £252—12 lbs. of wooll over.

Your wooll, as is sayde, costs a sarpler £58. 10s., at 15s. a stone.

Everye suche clothe makinge, dyinge, and everye way charge will coste £4,
 which, put to everye clothe for makinge etc., which are 12, amounts unto £48, which
 ad to the price of your wooll, of a sarpler which is £58 10s., makes £106 10s. Then
 ad £6, which is after the highest rate of your monye of English marchants for
 custome and subsedye for a sacke of wooll, and the whole for the sarpler coms to
 £118. Put to that £106 10s., amounts unto £124 10s. Yet there remaines £130 10s.
 over of everye sarpler of wooll, beside these charges. Ad the strangers custome
 and subsedye at the highest rate so of monye to it, is £18 more then the Englishes
 marchants: rises unto £142, whiche deducte out of £254, there remaineth £112
 cleare unto him beside all his charges.

This is a great
 gaine in a sarpler
 of wooll, tho ther
 be a good somme
 allowed for the
 transporting, as
 the shippinge
 over of everye
 sarpler and pay-
 ing custome
 where it shall
 land.

Clothes are much dearer to be solde abroad and soe are likewise woolls, and
 therefore, whye shold not the custome and subsidie of bothe rather increase, when
 it was at the highest rate, then decaye.

The many mightie and sondrye greate commodities shall daylye and continuallye come to your majesties kingdoms and subjects, yf these corporations be taken awaye and disannulled, which your Highnes may doe without acte of Parlyment, and especially fre libertie graunted to all your majesties subjets (*sic* !) and to strangers in leage, to buy in any place of your majesties Realms, al clothes, marchandises of ye staple, and all other commodities whatsoever, and to ship and transport ye same marchandises and commodities whether they will to nations in leage, from certaine havens and ports appointed in everye Realme, paying the duties and customs, performing the aunciente lawes of England, for at all tymes, as occasions shall serve, your Highnes may staye the transportation at your pleasure.

The general and universal contracte betwene the sondrye nations of your majesties kingdoms by reciprocate comforte one with an other will verye sone bringe frendship and love betwene them, a thinge moste to be desired.

The fre libertie graunted to all subjects alike, bearing their alleigance to one prince must the more needes combinde and tye the sayde subjects to him, who so bountifullye and gratusly affords unto them, one as well as an other, privelidges equally.

The navye, the strengthe of your kingdoms, shal be moste mightelye increased, to the terror and admiration of all your majesties neighbour kinges and such further princes who shall heare therof, for asmuch as all Europe, excepte the northe and north Easte, frozen lands almoste not inhabitable hath not the tenthe good and commodious haven your Regions are furnished with, in the which there is also contained moste able men to abide labor and the sea, and so be set a worke, who otherwise must live ydle, to the hurt of the common wealth and their owne undoings.

Bullyon and coyne shall abundantlye be broughte into all your territories, for strangers are to paye reddyde mony for clothes and staple commodities, Custome mightelye increased, bothe outwarde and inwarde.

Where are many buyers and commodities sought for, there those commodities will be advanced in price, and no greater benefit come therby to any common wealth, and to the subjects therof, and so of necessitie to the prince, then when the commodities of the lande which may be sparede be at as hye prices as may be, and so the whole enriched.

The clothier shal be thorowlye set a worke when the vent of clothes, carseys, cottons etc. shal be more largelye and plentifullye sold, and have reddyde monye for his worke and for clothe etc., and faster then he can make it, and so the needy people of the lande, who wolde be cared for, employed.

The subjecte, riche and pore, shal have reddyde paymente at his house for any commoditie he will sell, and monye not to seeke with grudging when his prince calls.

The decayed Townes uppon the sea and in all places in the whole kingdoms shal be redified (*sic* !), peopled and become rich. All the waste, desolate parts of Irelande habited, the ruynated cities and habitations built, those that are standing, increased, subjects multiplyed and therbye God and the prince served.

Gold and silver are the sinnewes of warrs, wherof if there be plentie, ether forreine or native contrye forces, at all tymes when necessitie requires, may be levyed, kept and maintained.

Most dreade and deere soveraigne, were my abilite so great as I desire, to serve you, no kinge had ever a more devoted nor loyall mynded subjecte. According to the best of my reatch, I have thoughte, of what I colde gather by reading and insighte in this common wealth, to do good therto, and so to your Highnes, who is the God in earth therof, and your posteritie, and therefore nowe present to your majestie what I hope shall, and with al my harte I pray might, so muche royally in-riche your crowne and common wealth, as the like hath don your Highnesses most noble progenitors in this Realme.

Consider, gratiouse king, I am in prison, in the tyme of the plaging sicknes of the plague, a disease shunde of all men, persons in affliction not willingly by manye, yea freands, visited. I can not procure suche books and recordes as wold fortifie what I have here written, and lesse have I ben able to goe and searche them out my selfe.

Wherefore, in all humilitie, I besече you, sire Roy, yf there be any oversights or errors in what herein is included, uppon the examination therof, not therfore to rejecte ye whole for those appeiringe defects, for as much as the substance of the matter may be found most benefitiall to your Highnes and kingdoms without any innovation, but to commit them to the sistinge and refininge of such as will respect your Highnesses and common wealths publicke good more then their owne, as too longe, many the cheife magistrates of this kingdome have of late and many continued years don. The almightie God above kepe, defende and prosper your Highnes alwayes.

Your majesties most loyal, faithfull, and dutiful subjecte,

ARTHUR HALL.

APPENDIX III.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

- AMES, Joseph. *Typographical Antiquities; or, An Historical Account of the origin and progress of printing in Great Britain and Ireland . . . augmented by William Herbert.* London, 1785-90.
- ARBER, Ed. *Transcripts of the Registers of the Stationers' Company.* London, 1875-94.
- ASCHAM, Roger. *The Whole Works*, ed. by Rev. Dr. Giles. London, 1864-65.
- *The English Works*, ed. by W. A. Wright. Cambridge, 1904.
- BAKER, Thomas. *History of the College of St. John, Cambridge*, ed. by J. E. B. Mayor. Cambridge, 1869.
- BATESON, Mary. *Articles on Social Life from 1509 to 1558, and from 1584 to 1603, in The Building of Britain and the Empire*, ed. by H. D. Traill and J. S. Mann. Illustr. ed., Vol. III. London, 1909.
- BESANT, Sir Walter. *London in the Time of the Tudors.* London, 1904.
- BIBLIOTHECA GRENVILLIANA. London, 1842.
- BLAND, A. E., BROWN, P. A., and TAWNEY, R. H. *English Economic History: Select Documents.* London, 1914.
- BLORE, Charles. *History and Antiquities of Rutland.* Stamford, 1811.
- BRÜGGEMANN, Ludwig Wilhelm. *A View of the English editions, translations, and illustrations of the ancient Greek and Latin authors.* Stettin, 1797.
- BRUNET, Jacques Charles. *Manuel du Libraire*, 5th ed., with supplement by P. Deschamps and P. G. Brunet. Paris, 1860-80.
- BRYDGES, Sir Samuel Egerton. *Restituta.* London, 1814-16.
- CASTIGLIONE, Baldessar. *The Courtier, done into Englyshe by Thomas Hoby.* Tudor translations, with preface by Sir Walter Raleigh. London, 1899.
- CHAMBERS, E. K. *Article on The Court*, in Vol. I, Ch. III., of *Shakespeare's England.* Oxford, 1916.
- CHAPMAN, George. *The Iliads of Homer, with introd. and notes by George Hooper.* London, 1857.
- COLLIER, John Payne. *A Bibliographical Account of the Rarest Works in the English Language.* London, 1865.
- COOPER, Charles Henry and Thomson. *Article on Arthur Hall*, in *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, Vol. II. Cambridge, 1861.
- CORSER, Thomas. *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, Pt. 7. Chetham Society, Vol. CXI, [Manchester], 1877.
- CUNNINGHAM, Peter. *A Handbook of London, Past and Present.* London, 1850.
- CUNNINGHAM, W. *Growth of English Industry and Commerce during the early and middle ages*, 5th ed. Cambridge, 1910.
- DASENT, J. R. *Acts of the Privy Council of England, New Series.* London, 1890, etc.
- D'EWES, Sir Symonds. *A compleat journal of the votes, speeches, and debates both of the House of Lords and House of Commons throughout the whole reign of Queen Elizabeth.* London, 1693.

- DRUMMOND, William. Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden, ed. by David Laing. London, 1842.
- DUNLOP, Robert. Article on Thomas Radcliffe, 3rd Earl of Sussex, in Vol. XLVII of the Dictionary of National Biography.
- EINSTEIN, Lewis. The Italian Renaissance in England. New York, 1907.
- ELLIS, Sir Henry, and DOUCE, F. Catalogue of the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum. London, 1819.
- GRASSE, Johann Georg Theodor. Trésor de livres rares et précieux. Dresde, 1859-69.
- HALES, J. (?) A Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England, ed. by Elizabeth Lamond. Cambridge, 1893.
- HALKETT, Samuel, and LAING, John. Dictionary of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain. Edinburgh, 1882-88.
- HALLAM, Henry. Constitutional History of England from the Accession of Henry VII to the Death of George II. London, 1881.
- HARRISON, William. Description of England in Shakespeare's Youth, ed. by F. J. Furnivall. London, 1877-1908.
- HASLEWOOD, Joseph. Ancient Critical Essays upon English Poets and Poesy. London, 1811-15.
- HATSELL, John. A Collection of cases of Privilege of Parliament from the earliest records to the year 1628. London, 1776-81.
- HAZLITT, W. C. Handbook to Early English Literature. London, 1867.
- HEYWOOD, Thomas. Dramatic Works. London, 1874.
- HUGHES, Charles. Article on Land Travel, in Vol. I, Ch. vii., of Shakespeare's England. Oxford, 1916.
- HUME, Martin A. S. The Great Lord Burghley. London, 1898.
- JESSOP, Augustus. Article on Sir Thomas Cecil and William Cecil, Lord Burghley. Vol. IX of the Dictionary of National Biography.
- JIRICZEK, Otto L. Der elisabethanische Horaz, Separat-Abdruck aus dem Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft. Berlin, 1911.
- JUSSERAND, J. J. Histoire littéraire du peuple anglais. De la Renaissance à la guerre civile. Paris, 1904.
- LEADAM, I. S. Article on Sir Robert Wingfield, in Vol. LXII of the Dictionary of National Biography.
- LEE, Sir Sidney. Article on Arthur Hall, in Vol. XXIV of the Dictionary of National Biography.
- The French Renaissance in England. Oxford, 1910.
- LELAND, John. De rebus britannicis Collectanea, 2nd ed. London, 1770.
- Itinerary, 2nd ed. Oxford, 1744-45.
- LODGE, Edmund. Illustrations of English History, Biography and Manners. London, 1791.
- LOWNDES, W. T. The Bibliographer's Manual, revised by H. G. Bohn. London, 1857-64.
- MADDISON, A. R. Lincolnshire Pedigrees. Harleian Society, Vols. 50, 51, 52, 55. London, 1902-6.
- McKERROW, R. B. A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland, and Ireland. Bibliographical Society, 1910.
- Article on Booksellers', Printers', and the Stationers' Trade, in Vol. II, Ch. XXIII., of Shakespeare's England. Oxford, 1916.
- MULLINGER, J. Bass. St. John's College. Cambridge, 1898.
- The University of Cambridge from the earliest times. Cambridge, 1873-1911.
- NICHOLS, John. Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth, 2nd ed. London, 1823.
- The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester. London, 1795-1815.

226 THE LIFE AND WORKS OF ARTHUR HALL

- NICHOLS, J. G. *The Chronicle of Calais*. Camden Society, No. 35. London, 1846.
- PALMER, Henrietta. *List of English Editions and Translations of the Greek and Latin Classics printed before 1641*. Bibliographical Society, 1911.
- PAULI, Reinhold. *Drei volkswirtschaftliche Denkschriften aus der Zeit Heinrichs VIII*. Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Bd. 23. Göttingen, 1843.
- PECK, Francis. *Desiderata Curiosa*. London, 1779.
- PLOMER, H. R. Henry Bynneman, printer, 1566-83, in *The Library*, July, 1908.
- PRICE, William Hyde. *The English Patents of Monopoly*. [Harvard Economic Studies.] Cambridge [Mass.], 1906.
- RITSON, Joseph. *Bibliographica Poetica*. London, 1802.
- RUDING, Rogers. *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain and its Dependencies*, 3rd ed. London, 1840.
- SAINTSBURY, George. Article on Elizabethan Society, in *The Building of Britain and the Empire*, ed. by H. D. Traill and J. S. Mann. Illustr. ed., Vol. III. London, 1909.
- SALEL, Hugues. *Les dix premiers livres de l'Iliade d'Homere*. Paris, 1555.
- SANDYS, Sir John Edwin. Articles on Education and Scholarship. Vol. I, Chaps. VIII. and IX., in *Shakespeare's England*. Oxford, 1916.
- VON SCHANZ, Georg. *Englische Handelspolitik gegen Ende des Mittelalters*. Leipzig, 1881.
- SCHÖCK, Henrik. *Shakspere och hans tid*. Stockholm, 1916.
- SCOTT, William Robert. *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish, and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720*. Cambridge, 1910-13.
- SHAW, W. A. *The History of Currency, 1252-1894*. London, 1896.
- SMITH, D. Nichol. Article on Authors and Patrons. Vol. II, Ch. XXII, of *Shakespeare's England*. Oxford, 1916.
- SMITH, Gregory. *Elizabethan Critical Essays*. Oxford, 1904.
- SPEDDING, James. *Letters and Life of Francis Bacon*. London, 1861-74.
- STOW, John. *A Survey of London*, ed. by C. L. Kingsford. Oxford, 1908.
- STREET, Benjamin. *Historical Notes on Grantham and Grantham Church*. Grantham, 1857.
- STRYPE, John. *Annals of the Reformation*, new ed. Oxford, 1824.
- THOROTON, Robert. *The antiquities of Nottinghamshire*. London, 1677.
- TOUT, T. F. Article on Bishop Goldwell, in Vol. XXII of the *Dictionary of National Biography*.
- TURNOR, Edmund. *Collections for the History of the Town and Soke of Grantham*. London, 1806.
- UNWIN, George. *Industrial Organisation in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Oxford, 1904.
- Article on Commerce and Coinage. Vol. I, Ch. XI., of *Shakespeare's England*. Oxford, 1916.
- VATKE, Th. *Culturbilder aus Alt-England*. Berlin, 1887.
- VENN, John and J. A. *The Book of Matriculations and Degrees; a Catalogue of those who have been matriculated or been admitted to any Degree in the University of Cambridge from 1544 to 1659*. Cambridge, 1913.
- WANLEY, H. *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts*, revised by R. Nares, S. Shaw, and F. Douce. London, 1808-12.
- WARTON, Thomas. *History of English Poetry from the Close of the Eleventh to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century*. London, 1774-1806.
- WATT, Robert. *Biblioteca Britannica*. Edinburgh, 1824.
- WELBY, Alfred. *Records of the Parish and Prebendal Church, the Guilds and Chantries of Grantham*. Grantham, no date.
- WHEATLEY, Henry B. *London and the Life of the Town*, in Vol. II, Ch. XXI. of *Shakespeare's England*. Oxford, 1916.

- WHIBLEY, Charles. Article on Translators, in Vol. IV, Ch. 1. of the Cambridge History of English Literature. Cambridge, 1909.
- WILLIS, Browne. *Notitia Parliamentaria*. London, 1716-50.
- WINGFIELD, M. E. (Lord Powerscourt). *Muniments of the Ancient Family of Wingfield*. London, 1894.
- WOODWARD, W. H. Article on English Universities, Schools, and Scholarship in the sixteenth century, in the Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. III. Cambridge, 1909.

[References to the State Papers, Salisbury and Rutland MSS., Chancery Inquisitions, Chancery and Star Chamber Proceedings will be found in the footnotes.]

INDEX.

- AACHEN**, 15.
Æneas, 63, 84, 199.
Alfonso, Duke of Ferrara, 40, 181.
Alva, Duke of, 43, 183.
Ancaster, 97.
Andernach, 15.
Antenor, 40.
Anticyra, 68, 69.
Antwerp, 13, 14, 38, 121.
Apulia, 44, 184.
Aquapendente, 43, 183.
Archer, Thomas, 78.
Archery, 54, 57.
Ardres, 9, 10, 16, 39.
Armada, Spanish, 82, 85, 119.
Arundel, Earl of, 192, 197.
 — Mistress, 53, 56, 58, 70.
Ascham, Roger, 30-3, 36, 39, 47, 130-32, 134, 193.

BACON family, 52.
 — Francis, 73, 73.
 — Lady, 131.
Baker, John, 66.
 — Thomas, goldsmith, 66.
 — — 32.
Barbaro, Marco Antonio, 44-5, 180.
Bedford, Duke of, 88.
Bell, Sir Robert, 70, 187, 190.
Belton, 35, 101.
Bembo, 41.
Berners, Lord, 5.
Billington, 101.
Bologna, 40, 43, 184.
Bond, Robert, 92, 204, 205.
Bonn, 15.
Boresbergh, 102.
Boulogne, 12.
Bowls, 54, 56.
Brackenbury, Mr., 195.
Bray, Lord, 57.
Brierton, Sir Randal, 70, 188.
Bromsgrove, 118.
Brooke, William, 15.
Brussels, 13-15, 182.
Buchholt, 14.
Buckhurst, Lord, 116, 133, 210 (see Sackville, Thomas).
Bullion, 120-21, 212, 216, 218-19, 222.

Burghley, Lord, 27, 47, 51-2, 59, 62-3, 65, 74-7, 79-93, 95-7, 101, 103, 106, 109, 119, 127-28, 132, 186, 190-205, 210 (see Cecil, Sir William).
Bynneman, Henry, 107, 124-25, 135, 137, 189.

CAIUS, Dr., 33.
Calabria, 44, 184.
Calais, 4-24, 34-5, 39, 147, 173-76, 212, 216.
Cambridge, 31-4, 193.
Campagna, The, 40, 181.
Canterbury, 11.
 — Archbishop of, 7.
Caraffa, Cardinal, 182.
Castiglione, Baldessar, 28, 133.
Catholic exiles, 42, 182-83.
Cecil, Elizabeth, 132.
 — Lady, 29, 31, 131 (see Cooke, Mildred).
 — Sir Robert, 31, 47, 107-9, 111, 116, 127, 129.
 — — Thomas, 27-8, 31, 33-4, 38, 69, 101, 132, 134, 177.
 — — William, 17, 24-38, 40, 42, 44-5, 48, 50, 88, 123-24, 128, 131, 174-78, 180, 184 (see Burghley, Lord).
Cesena, 40, 181.
Chamberlain, 15.
Chambers, 59, 61.
Champagne, 11.
Chandos, Lord, 57.
Chapman, George, 135, 170-72.
Charles I, 73.
 — V, Emperor, 8-9, 11-12, 14.
Châtelet-sur-Sambre, 15.
Cheapside, 51-2, 54, 67.
Cheke, John, 30, 32-3, 130, 193.
Clarke, Baron of the Exchequer, 93, 205.
Classics, The, 29, 123-24, 130, 133, 139.
Clinton, Lady Francis, 57.
 — Lord, 27.
Clothing trade, 117-19, 211, 214, 218-22.
Cobham, Lord, 15-16.
Coblentz, 15.
Coinage, Debasement of, 25, 114-16, 127, 209.
Coleby, 107.

Cologne, 14.
 Commons, House of, 49-50, 54-5, 61-5,
 68-75, 77-8, 89-90, 117, 129, 144, 185,
 188, 190-93.
 Compter, The, 61.
 Constantinople, 44-6, 180.
 Constitution, British, 73.
 Cooke, Mildred, 30 (see Cecil, Lady).
 Corfu, 44, 184.
 Corn, Shortage of, 102-3.
 Corruption of Parliament, 111-12, 206.
 Cosimo I, Duke, 43, 183.
 Cotton, Sir Richard, 24-6, 174-75.
 Court, The, 37, 51, 57, 76, 78, 81-2, 90,
 103, 123, 163, 166, 195-96.
 Courtesans, 41, 181.
 Crépy, Peace of, 12.
 Croke, John, 53, 56.
 Cromwell, Gregory, 27-8.
 — Thomas, 8-9.
 Customs, 119, 220-21.

 DAMPLIP, Adam, 8.
 Delaware, Lord, 93, 204.
 Denys, Sir Maurice, 24-5, 174-75.
 Dewie, Margery, 38, 52, 185-86.
 — Mary, 37-8, 52, 64, 66, 186 (see Hall,
 Mary).
 — Thomas, 38, 52, 179-80.
 Discoveries, 120, 219, 221.
 Douai, 8, 182.
 Drake, Richard, 56, 58-9.
 Drant, Thomas, 131.
 Droitwich, 118.

 EDWARD III, 72, 114, 119.
 — VI, 27, 30, 33, 52, 73, 114-15, 120-21.
 Egmont, Count, 43, 183.
 Elizabeth, Queen, 36-7, 41-2, 48-9, 53,
 57, 59, 65, 70-1, 73-7, 79-81, 83-6,
 89-93, 97, 102-3, 106, 108, 114-16,
 123, 126-27, 131, 137, 163, 192-95,
 197-205, 209.
 Elles, Thomas, 99.
 Erasmus, 41.
 Estates (of Francis Hall), 24, 35; (of
 Arthur Hall), 35.
 Evesham, 118.
 Ewins, Baron of the Exchequer, 204.
 Export of corn and beer, 103, 203.

 FAENZA, 40, 181.
 Falconbridge, Lord, 1.
 Fanshawe, Mr., 93, 205.
 Fencing, 54.
 Fens, Draining of, 103.
 Ferrara, 40, 43, 180, 184.
 Ferrers, George, 61.
 Fitzwilliam family, 1, 2.
 — Sir William, 196.
 Flanders, 8, 12-13.

Fleet Prison, 83, 85-6, 107-8, 110, 112,
 116, 199-201.
 Fleming, Abraham, 171.
 Fleurus, 15.
 Florence, 40, 43, 183-84.
 Foligno, 40, 181.
 Foster Lane, London, 38, 51-2, 179, 186.
 Francesco I, Duke, 43, 183-84.
 Francis I, 8, 11-12.
 Frankfort, 38.
 Free Trade, 117, 119, 222.
 Friars, Grantham, 2, 4.
 Fytton, William, 198.

 GAMES, 22, 56.
 Garter Lane, London, 51, 194.
 Gascoigne, George, 133.
 George III, 62.
 Germany, 14-15, 29, 39, 45.
 Gilbert, Henry, 66-7, 186.
 Golding, Arthur, 36, 131, 133, 171.
 Goldwell, Bishop, 42, 182.
 Googe, Barnabe, 36, 133, 171.
 Gorge, Mr., 45.
 Grantham, 1-4, 18, 25, 35-6, 48, 51, 57,
 65, 71, 77, 80-1, 85-6, 91-2, 94-9, 105,
 107, 113, 126, 189, 193.
 Greenwich, 80.
 Grey, Lord, 24, 176.
 Griffin, Sir Edward, 107, 187.
 Guidobaldo II, Duke, 40, 181.
 Guildhall, The, 54, 59.
 Guisnes, 9, 11-12, 24, 35, 39.

 HALL, Anne, 113.
 — Arthur, 1-3, 16, 18-19, 22-3, 25-129,
 131-72, 177-210, 222-23.
 — — jun., 48.
 — Cecil, 37, 65, 104-7, 187, 198, 202-4.
 — — jun., 107.
 — Cyrus, 107.
 — Edmund, 25.
 — Francis, 4-5.
 — — jun., 2, 5-18, 22, 24-5, 173-76, 195.
 — Griffin, 107.
 — Henry, 103.
 — Jane, 195.
 — Joan, 48.
 — John, 18, 35.
 — Lucy, 107.
 — Mary (see Dewie, Mary).
 — — jun., 107.
 — Thomas, 1-4.
 — Ursula, 16-17, 24, 26, 175-76.
 — — jun., 86, 97, 186, 201.
 Ham, 39.
 Hampton Court, 94.
 Hannibal, 112, 206.
 Hare, Ralph, 7.
 Harington, Sir Henry, 82, 196.
 — — John, 82, 171, 196.

- Harrison, William, 33.
 Hatton, 89.
 Haverholm, 4.
 Hawking, 22, 100.
 Heidelberg, 38.
 Hele, Sergeant, 107.
 Henry VII, 2, 3, 118.
 — VIII, 10-14, 114-15, 120.
 Heywood, Jasper, 36, 131-34.
 — John, 168.
 — Thomas, 54.
 Hoby, Sir Thomas, 28, 133.
 Homer, 29, 36, 47, 123-24, 127, 130-32, 134-72.
 Hoorn, Count, 43, 183.
 Horace, 69.
 Hotham, John, 104-6.
 Howe, goldsmith, 67.
 Hull, 105, 121.
 Humanists, English, 130.
 Hungary, 45.
 — Queen of, 13-14.
 Hunsdon, Lord, 81-6, 195-200.
 Huntingdon, Earl of, 93, 204.
 Hussey, Charles, 101.
 Hutchinson, Mr., 88.
 INQUISITION, The, 39, 42, 182, 193.
 Ipswich, 121.
 Ireland, 114, 121, 209, 222.
 Italy, 40-7, 124, 180-84.
 JAMES I, 110-12, 116-17, 119, 121, 127-28, 206-10, 222-23.
 — IV of Scotland, 2.
 Jesus College, Cambridge, 95.
 Johnson, John, 121.
 — Roland, 66.
 Jonson, Ben, 111, 171.
 Josive, Mr., 203.
 KENILWORTH, 79.
 Kent, 16.
 Kidderminster, 118.
 King's Bench Prison, 84-5.
 Kirtleton, Matthew, 63-5.
 Knook (Wilts.), 24.
 Knott, Dr., 42, 182.
 Knyvett, Sir Henry, 89, 125, 187.
 LAMBETH, 3, 7.
 Lea, Sir Henry, 45, 184-85.
 Legard, Christofer, 104, 105.
 — John, 104, 105.
 — Suzan, 104, 105.
 Leicester, Earl of, 56, 57, 59, 79-80, 82-3, 90, 194-98.
 Leighton, Dorothy, 17, 174.
 Leland, John, 2, 7, 99.
 Lepanto, Battle of, 44, 184.
 Lever, Thomas, 32.
 Liège, Bishop of, 15.
 Lincoln, Bishop of, 91, 96-8, 125, 202.
 — Earl of, 27, 101.
 Lisle, Lady, 5-8, 18, 22.
 — Lord, 5-9, 16, 22.
 Locke, Ralph, 78.
 Lodge, Thomas, 110.
 London, 37-8, 45, 51-61, 68, 80, 85, 89, 99, 104-5, 124.
 Louvain, 15, 32.
 Ludgate Hill, 54.
 Lumelius, James, 53.
 MAASTRICHT, 14.
 Madrid, 40.
 Mallory, Andrew, 61.
 — Francis, 59.
 — Melchisedech, 55-60, 65-6, 68-9, 76, 79, 89, 124-26, 128, 144.
 Maltravers, Lord, 8-10.
 Manners, Roger, 101.
 Margaret, The Lady, 2-3.
 Marius, 94.
 Markham, John, 98, 100.
 Marshalsea, The, 81-2, 197-98.
 Marston (Lincs.), 98, 101.
 Mary, Queen, 32, 34, 73, 120.
 — — of France, 5.
 — — — Scots, 48-50, 69, 90, 209.
 Maximilian II, Emperor, 41.
 Mechlin, 13.
 Mercenaries, 14-16.
 Merchant Adventurers, 118-19, 211, 219.
 Meres, Francis, 171.
 Meuse, 15.
 Mildmay, Sir Anthony, 114.
 Military equipment, 12-13.
 Monasteries, Property of, 7, 211, 219.
 Monopolies, 116, 119-20, 122, 211.
 Monson, Justice, 65, 91, 187, 202.
 Montefiascone, 43, 183.
 Montreuil, 12.
 More, Richard, 91-2, 97-8, 202.
 Morison, Fynes, 47.
 Mosley, 61.
 Mountjoy, Christopher, 51.
 Mowse, William, 66.
 Myddleton, Hugh, 107.
 NAPLES, 42, 45, 180, 183.
 Narni, 40, 181.
 Nash, Thomas, 32.
 Navy, The, 116-17, 122, 211, 216, 222.
 Neville, George, 42, 182.
 — Sir Henry, 42, 182.
 Newgate, 54, 60.
 Nicholas, John, 57-9.
 Nocera, 40, 181.
 Norfolk, Duke of, 48-50, 69.
 Northumberland, Countess of, 42, 182.
 — Earl of, 106.
 Norton, Thomas, 68-9.

- PADUA, 40, 43, 184, 193.
 Paris, 11, 38.
 Parker, Thomas, 40, 129.
 Parliament, 4, 9, 34, 48-51, 54, 56, 61, 68, 72, 74-5, 77-8, 111-12, 166, 187-91.
 Pasquier, Etienne, 29.
 Paternoster Row, 51, 54.
 Paul IV, Pope, 181, 193.
 Paunton, 99.
 Pecke, John, 105.
 Pesaro, 40, 181.
 Phaer, Thomas, 134, 136, 171.
 Philip, King of Spain, 34, 43, 183.
 Philipsen, Robert, 53, 55.
 Phormio, 111, 206.
 Picardy, 11.
 Pike, John, 77.
 Pius IV, Pope, 182.
 — V, Pope, 41, 181.
 Plague, The, 110, 223.
 Plymouth, 120.
 Pole, Cardinal, 8, 182, 193.
 Poole, James, 66.
 Pope's Head, 54.
 Porter, Arthur, 86, 97.
 — Jane, 97.
 — William, 91, 94-7, 202.
 Poverty in Lincolnshire, 102, 103.
 Precious metals, 114, 117, 120-21, 219, 221.
 Privilege, Cases of, 61-2, 70-3.

 QUENEY, Audrian, 66.
 Quin, James, 54.

 RAVEN, Edward, 39.
 Reiffenberg, Friedrich von, 14, 16.
 Rimini, 40, 181.
 Romances, Popular, 29.
 Rome, 36, 40-3, 48, 50, 59, 181-83, 193.
 Rutland, Countess of, 129.
 — Earl of, 77, 101-2, 113, 129.

 SACKFORD, Mr., 192.
 Sackville, Thomas, 69 (see Buckhurst, Lord).
 Sadoletto, 41.
 Saint-Martin, Sieur de, 12, 22, 30.
 Salel, Hugues, 29, 131, 134, 138-45, 147-56, 158, 163, 167, 170.
 Salisbury, Countess of, 45.
 Scarborough, 104-5.
 School, Grantham, 95-6.
 Scotland, 29.
 Scots, 11, 217.
 Screven, Thomas, 113.
 Sempringham, 35.
 Shakespeare, 51, 79.
 Sherland, Edward, 107, 109.
 — Henry, 107, 124.
 Shipping Laws, 122, 217.
 Sicily, 42, 183-84.
 Sidney, Sir William, 87.
 Sidney-Sussex College, 87.
 Siena, 43, 183.
 Silva, Dr., 58.
 Silver Street, London, 51, 194.
 Sixtus IV, Pope, 41.
 Skipwith, Henry, 195.
 Sleaford, 113.
 Smalley, Edward, 58-9, 61-7, 187, 190.
 Smith, Sir William, 7.
 Somersall, Francis, 95.
 Southampton, 121.
 Spain, 39, 46, 114-15, 120, 209, 219.
 Spaniards, 42-3, 85, 183.
 Speyer, 38.
 Spoleto, 40, 181.
 St. Fauster's Church, London, 52.
 St. John's College, Cambridge, 32-4, 131.
 — Katharyn's Chapel, Grantham, 3, 113.
 — Leonard's Church, London, 38, 52, 179, 186.
 — Martin's, 51-3, 179.
 — Nicholas Church, Calais, 17.
 — Paul's Cathedral, 51, 53-4, 56, 58-60, 79, 85, 110.
 — Vedast's Church, London, 52.
 Stamford, 98.
 Staple, The, 4, 99, 121, 210, 212, 216.
 Star Chamber, 70, 83, 104, 106, 204.
 Stephen th' Almain, 10.
 Stixwold, 35.
 Stow, John, 51-2.
 Strelley, P., 204.
 Sudley Castle, 57.
 Suffolk, 16.
 — Duchess of, 5, 58.
 — Duke of, 5, 6, 12.
 Sussex, Earl of, 57, 59, 76, 79-80, 82, 127.
 — Lady, 80-4, 86-7, 89-91, 127-28, 194-201.
 Sylla, 94.

 TAVERNS of London, 53-5.
 Terni, 40, 181.
 Théroutenne, 8, 11.
 Thorold, Sir Anthony, 27, 91, 98-9, 101-3, 107, 202.
 — Sir Edmund, 107.
 — William, 77, 98-100.
 Thorpe, Roger, 106.
 Tottenham, 168-9.
 Tower, The, 63-4, 71, 74, 91, 131, 189.
 Towns, Decayed, 117-18, 222.
 Trading Companies, 116-17, 210-11, 222.
 Translators, Elizabethan, 139-40.
 Triphook, Robert, 126.
 Turks, 44, 46, 184.

 URBINO, 40, 181.

VENICE, 40, 44, 124, 184-85.

Viterbo, 43, 183.

Vrévins, Sieur de, 12.

WAGES of member of Parliament, 78.

Wallop, Sir John, 11.

Warblington, 26.

Warwick, Earl of, 82, 197.

Webb, William, 170.

Westborough, 101.

Whitton, 1, 2, 4, 34.

Wigmore, Thomas, 198.

Williams, George, 35.

Wilson, Thomas, 69, 193.

Winchester, 57.

— Marquis of, 26.

Windebank, Sir Thomas, 38, 178.

Wingfield, Sir Anthony, 132.

— Henry, 174.

— Robert, 132.

— Sir Robert, 5-6, 8-9, 17, 57, 94, 174.

Winter, Sir William, 68-70.

Wodehouse, Francis, 57-8.

Wolf, Eitel, 14.

Wolley, John, 197.

Wollins, Richard, 99.

Wolsey, Cardinal, 5.

Wool, 118-19, 211-16, 220-21.

Worcester, 118.

Worme, 54, 56-7, 59.

Wotton, Sir Edward, 10.

Wryttington, Mr., 204-5.

Zouch, John, 109, 204-5.



DA
358
H2W7

Wright, Herbert Gladstone
The life and works of
Arthur Hall of Grantham

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY
